Daily Report

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Bosnia-Hercegovina

According to Zagreb radio, the Presidency sent a letter to the UN Security Council; Butrus Butrus-Ghali, UN secretary general; Lawrence Eagleburger, acting U.S. secretary of state; John Major, UK prime minister; and the EC Ministerial Council. The Presidency asked that the ban on all military flights over Bosnia-Hercegovina, which was agreed on at the London Conference on Yugoslavia, be implemented. The letter stated: "In order for the ban to be observed, the Security Council must adopt a new resolution," and noted: "We would appreciate strong and organized support for the resolution."

Yugoslavia

International—Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, RSK, said in a news conference in Belgrade "that every political solution which prevents war from continuing and leads to peace is acceptable to the Krajina people," TANJUG reports. He added that the RSK is a "reality" and those who do not accept this reality "are against peace."

Federal—Due to "more than 50 amendments," TANJUG reports that adoption of the Law on the Election of Federal Assembly Deputies and the Law on Electoral Units were postponed in the Yugoslav Assembly. The discussion about the laws "revealed that opinions differed considerably."

Poland

PAP, citing Tokyo KYODO, reports that Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski had talks with Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe in Tokyo. The report states that "Skubiszewski stirred up a storm" when he said that "Polish-Japanese economic relations were not proceeding in the right direction." He "also expressed his deep disappointment at the fact that Japan was not realizing the programme of economic aid to Poland announced still in 1990." The Japanese foreign minister responded to "these critical remarks" by assuring Skubiszewski that "despite objections to reduce Polish debts Japan will make efforts to keep its promise of assistance to Poland."

Czechoslovakia

Bratislava TV reports that the spokesman for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, stated that "only" HZDS and Civic Democratic Party, ODS, representatives, and not representatives of the Czech and Slovak Republic Governments, should attend a 6 October meeting. Questioned about this, Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar stated: "My proposal was to send political representatives who can break through the deadlock in both Federal bodies, which, as of 1 October, became unable to function. This is why we proposed this solution." Slovak Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus responded with criticism of HZDS actions in the National Assembly, and stated: "Our limits, however, are clear: We do know that we have the responsibility of preserving calm in this country, of transforming the country to progress as quickly as possible."

Meksi, U.S. Businessmen Discuss Emergency Aid

AU0210091392 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 1 Oct 92

[Report by Aferdita Sokoli from New York]

[Text] In continuation of his visit to New York, Albanian Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi yesterday held meetings and discussed with Albanian-American and U.S. businessmen in [place indistinct] the direction of investments in Albania.

In the talks, Meksi stressed the indispensability of foreign investments in this transition phase of the progress of our economy toward a market economy, the urgent needs that our country is confronted with before winter, and the emergency aid to be granted in this period.

Premier Meksi then gave a news conference in one of the UN halls. The conference was attended by reporters from various U.S. media, the Albanian-American press, such as the newspaper ILIRIA, Victoria Television Studio, Albanian-language radio stations, and so on. Meksi answered reporters' questions on the present problems the Albanian Government is facing to strengthen the economic reform, the difficulties that the government is confronted with concerning the aid from various countries, the themes of the talks held in Washington, the Albanian press, political parties, regional problems, especially those of Kosovo, Albanian-Greek relations, and so on.

Regarding the Kosovo question, he presented the viewpoint of the Albanian Government and spoke of its efforts to seek the good offices of governments in order to solve this question fairly, making it clear that the Albanian Government is not for a change of borders by force and that Albania does not wish war, because it is up to the Kosovo Albanians themselves to decide on their own fate, now that the former Yugoslav Federation has disintegrated.

Concerning Albanian-Greek relations, he stressed that the Albanian Government's relations with Greece are good. Meksi pointed out that certain chauvinistic Greek circles openly express territorial claims against Albania. The Albanian Government believes that these problems can be resolved only in the spirit of Helsinki and other international documents and through regular contacts with the Greek Government.

Meksi attended yesterday's lunch hosted by UN General Secretary Butrus-Ghali, for the heads of state and foreign ministers who participated at the 47th session of the UN General Assembly.

Meksi also attended last night a cocktail party organized in his honor by the Albanian-American businessmen Rec Xhakri, Skender Perolli, and Selim Ruci.

Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi and the permanent representative of the Republic of Albania to the UN, Thanas Shkurti, accompanied Meksi at these activities.

Prime Minister Meksi has ended his visit and left New York today.

Trade Unions Warn Government of General Strike

AU0310215092 Tirana ATA in English 1146 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Tirana, October 2 (ATA)—The Independent Trade Unions will support that economic reform carried out according to laws.

This was the conclusion the meeting of the National Council of the Independent Trade Unions of Albania drawn on October 1. This meeting asked the government to provide the minimum of social assistance and compensate 100 percent five products of the basket within October 20, 1992. Otherwise the Union of the Albanian Independent Trade Unions will appeal for one day general warning strike, not considering it as the last means for the fulfillment of its demands.

The National Council criticised the arbitrariness in applying social assistance, spontaneity in privatization, the indifferent stand of the government to these phenomena.

Zhelev Signs Friendship Treaty With Ukraine

AU0510122092 Sofia BTA in English 1155 GMT 5 Oct 92

[Text] Sofia, 5 October (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev of Bulgaria and President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries today. A special clause in the treaty guarantees the rights of ethnic Bulgarians in Ukraine. Two other agreements—on cultural cooperation and on military and technical cooperation, were also signed.

Environment Commission With Romania To Continue

AU0310174392 Sofia BTA in English 1647 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Ruse, October 3 (BTA)—The Joint Bulgarian-Romanian Commission on the Environmental Problems in the Region of the Danubian Cities of Ruse and Giurgiu will continue its work. A declaration presented by Mr. Florian Bold, deputy mayor of Giurgiu, expresses regret over the unhappy session of September 25 which was discontinued after the walkout of the Romanian delegation. The declaration explains this with political obligations in the elections and the negotiations with U.S. businessmen at the Verachim Chemical Works to which a Bulgarian delegation was refused access.

The next session of the commission has been scheduled to take place late this month in Ruse.

Asparukhov Apologizes for Arms Deal Allegations

AU0310202392 Sofia BTA in English 2222 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Evgeniya Drumeva report: "Intelligence Chief Apologizes"]

[Text] Sofia, October 2 (BTA)—General Brigo Asparukhov, chief of the National Intelligence Service, today offered a public apology to the prime minister and the cabinet, after a three-hour meeting with President Zhelyu Zhelev, Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, Deputy Prime Minister Svetoslav Luchnikov, Minister of the Interior Yordan Sokolov and the leaders of the Parliamentary National Security Committee.

At a news conference on September 18, General Asparukhov said the Bulgarian Intelligence Service held information that an adviser to the prime minister was involved in arms deals, which would be disclosed to the president and the prime minister. The news conference was held on the same day as the opening of the political conference of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) that discussed the ruling coalition's attitude toward the cabinet after it came in for criticism by the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the SDS's ally in parliament.

Ten days later General Asparukhov was invited to report to the prime minister. The chief of the Prime Minister's Office said that General Asparukhov only sent a letter, 'impertinently" stating that he would report only in the presence of President Zhelev, of representatives of the Parliamentary National Security Committee, the Prosecutor's Office and the Ministry of the Interior. Today the prime minister described this act as unprecedented. "It was not merely an insolent act but a manifestation of willful disregard for the cabinet, even of confrontation to it," said Filip Dimitrov.

According to unofficial reports, the intelligence chief was expected to bring to light facts about the case at today's meeting. Before it, Mr. Dimitrov told the press he would ask the president if he was behind General Asparukhov's refusal to disclose information to the prime minister.

"None of the prime minister's advisers has been involved in arms deals," Filip Dimitrov told the press after the meeting. In these dramatic moments for the Bulgarian institutions that are striving for prestige, there are people who cast doubt on this prestige, Mr. Dimitrov said. He pointed out that during today's talks, "the president persuaded us that General Asparukhov had not acted disloyally and his explanations and apologies will be accepted."

General Asparukhov also made a statement after the meeting. He said: "I offer my apology to the prime minister, and through him to the cabinet, for failing to report on the case when he asked me to." Asking to be quoted accurately, General Asparukhov said: "When the National Intelligence Service gave further information on the case, it became clear that the prime minister's adviser was not involved in an arms scandal. Konstantin Mishev, adviser to the prime minister, had carried out accurately his assignment by the prime minister, following his directives, and had reported the results to the competent authorities—the prime minister, the trade minister and the government commission controlling arms production and trade."

The president and the prime minister have been arguing recently to which of the two institutions the Secret Services should be subordinated. The National Intelligence Service is subordinated to the president.

Last week the prime minister requested the Constitutional Court to rule on this question because it is not settled in the Constitution.

Before leaving after the meeting, General Asparukhov said the National Intelligence Service had saved its face. It had been informed that Konstantin Mishev had acted on the prime minister's instructions. He added he might give further details to the press.

Asked if he was satisfied with General Asparukhov's apology or if he would demand his resignation, Filip Dimitrov said: "Probably I would not say no to something more than apologies." General Asparukhov said this was within the prime minister's rights.

Later on Konstantin Mishev said: "This was the latest failed attempt at my discrediting by schemers, Mafiosi and KGB men. This time the aim was the destabilization of Bulgaria's first democratic government rather than my personal discrediting."

Dimitrov To Refer Case to Assembly

AU0410193092 Sofia BTA in English 1851 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Text] Sofia, October 4 (BTA)—About two weeks ago Bulgarian Intelligence Chief General Brigadier Asparukhov told journalists that an adviser of the prime minister was involved in arms deals. On Friday [2 October] he apologized to the prime minister for refusing him information and said that the adviser in question was not involved in arms deals.

An interview of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov on Channel 1 of the National Television tonight showed that this case has not been closed. The prime minister intends to refer it to the Parliamentary National Security Committee. Apart from the intelligence chief, in his interview the prime minister also mentioned the name of the president's adviser on military issues General Stoyan Andreev.

"Everyone should be held to account for attempts to discredit the Bulgarian Government, the people working for it and the prime minister himself through political machinations," Mr. Filip Dimitrov said. He added that any toleration of such actions and political machinations is extremely dangerous for the state.

Adviser Sees 'Political Coup' Against Cabinet

AU0410182092 Sofia BTA in English 1753 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Text] Sofia, October 4 (BTA)—Mr. Aleks Aleksiev, a personal adviser of the Bulgarian prime minister, believes that an attempt at staging a political coup is under way in Bulgaria.

In an interview for the Sunday 150 political talk show of the National Radio today he accused "people connected with the leadership of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation and with the ex-defence minister of the government of the Union of Democratic Forces, Dimitur Ludzhev as well as people of the leadership of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), of attempting to stage a coup by political means. Mr. Aleks Aleksiev believes that they are either supported by the former communists or that their activities have to a certain extent been coordinated with the former communists who, according to him, stand to gain from all this.

Mr. Aleks Aleksiev is an American citizen. He is the son of a well-known Bulgarian writer killed by the communists and has been living in the West for many years. Since January 1992 he has worked as an unsalaried personal adviser of Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov. Several months ago Mr. Aleks Aleksiev announced that he would return to the United States for financial reasons. In his interview today it became clear that he will leave soon. Aleks Aleksiev, a well-known Sovietologist, intends to read lectures in Stanford and to finish his book on Eastern Europe which he started writing before he came to Bulgaria.

Mr. Aleks Aleksiev has been often accused by the socialist and the opposition press in general of being a CIA agent, of involvement in economic espionage, of self-seeking interests in the Bulgarian military industrial complex, etc. In his interview he said that these attacks were actually aimed at the prime minister and that they were in the KGB style.

According to Aleks Aleksiev, the processes of democratization in Bulgaria are irreversible. He believes that the government and parliament have achieved a lot in the economic field. If political stability is preserved, Bulgaria will undergo an economic upsurge. Mr. Aleksiev described the fact that by the end of the year 30 percent of the Bulgarian farmers will get their land back de jure and 50 percent de facto as an exceptional achievement.

Dimitrov: Zhelev Attempting To Destabilize Cabinet

AU0510111492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 5 Oct 92

[Statement by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov on 5 October—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov is in our studio. According to my understanding, he would like to make a statement, or rather comment on part of President Zhelyu Zhelev's interview, carried by today's issue of 24 CHASA, and more specifically, on the competence of Mr. Dimitrov's Adviser Konstantin Mishev because, as Dr. Zhelev claims, this is an issue that must be addressed to you.

[Dimitrov] I will answer this in the context of everything that has been said so far. At a time when the Council of Ministers is dealing with very important issues—including the issue of how to cope with the burden created by the increase in energy prices, something that was necessitated by international standards—a new attempt has been made to destabilize the government. You see that a teachers' strike has begun. Its scope will gradually become clear. In one way or another it appears that all the developments point in a certain direction. The subject raised by your question cannot be separated from other developments because for me it is ever more obvious that a purposeful and premeditated plan to destabilize the government and the situation in the country is being implemented. It suffices to note that this campaign that is obviously well organized and aims to discredit the government at an obviously difficult time is being supported by the president.

In his interview for 24 CHASA, President Dr. Zhelev, obviously in a deliberate and premeditated manner, says things that do not correspond to the truth, and he himself knows this.

I think this is exceptionally dangerous because it shows that there is serious reason to believe that figures and institutions, though forbidden by the constitution to do this, are joining with forces that aim to provoke destabilization and discredit the government.

I said I will raise the issue at the National Security Commission, and I have already done this. I will probably do so at the National Assembly. I will demand clarifications about claims, that, I repeat, the president knows to be untrue, and that apparently attempt to blame the prime minister and his advisers, but mostly, Bulgaria's prime minister, for maintaining contacts with certain companies and negotiating deals with them. This is a lie. It is an attempt to discredit the government and its activity.

These things at the present moment cannot be left unanswered. We must either do our work and attempt to achieve the results that Bulgaria's development requires, or we must admit that our attempts to lead Bulgaria out of the swamp in which it finds itself are being subverted, including from higher places.

DPS Reiterates Stand on Dimitrov Resignation

AU0310201192 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Sofia, October 3 (BTA)—The ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) has not changed its attitude toward Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov. Ten days ago the DPS divested the prime minister of its political confidence.

In an interview for Channel 2 of the National Television last night Mrs. Sherife Mustafa, MP [member of parliament], of the DPS, confirmed the stand of the movement. Mrs. Mustafa expressed the hope that Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov will show political wisdom and hand in his resignation.

She denied the allegations that the demanded resignation of Filip Dimitrov is related to the forthcoming resolution of the Bulgarian parliament on police files. "We have nothing against the opening of the police files," Mrs. Mustafa said. She believes that this issue should be solved by legislative means "so that it would not be used for political blackmail by certain forces in the ruling coalition."

In her interview Mrs. Mustafa said that the talks between the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and the DPS which started on Friday [2 October] will continue next week. According to Mrs. Mustafa, the DPS does not want to take part in the new government which she hopes will be formed soon.

Lukanov Complains to Human Rights Commission

AU0210085792 Sofia BTA in English 2123 GMT 1 Oct 92

[Daniela Weber report]

[Text] Strasbourg, October 1 (BTA)—At its meeting today the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe considered an item on the agenda concerning Bulgaria. Mr. Asparukh Panov M.P. [member of parliament] of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) briefed the committee on the resignation of National Assembly Chairman Stefan Savov and on the strained relations between the SDS and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS). He expressed optimism that this strain would be overcome and no early elections will have to be held.

The same opinion was confirmed by Mr. Filip Bokov M.P. of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and Mr. Yunal Lyutfi M.P. of the DPS on behalf of their respective parliamentary factions. They share the conviction of the BSP and the DPS that if a new government is formed, it should be of the SDS.

The question of Mr. Andrey Lukanov, a former Socialist prime minister now in investigative custody in connection with the case of the culprits for the economic catastrophe, was also raised at that meeting.

Mr. Bokov formally handed Council of Europe secretary general Catherine Lalumiere Mr. Lukanov's personal complaint to the Commission on Human Rights.

It became clear in the course of the debate that all possible remedies for contesting the judicial authorities' decision on a remand in custody in the national courts have been tried and therefore Mr. Lukanov's complaint fulfills the conditions for investigation by the Commission on Human Rights.

Mrs. Lalumiere assured Mr. Bokov that the case will receive a serious consideration. The committee assigned Mr. Jespersen, a Socialist M.P. of Denmark, to make the appropriate inquiries into the case and, if he thinks it fit, to familiarize the committee with his findings.

Meciar Proposes HZDS-ODS Meeting on 6 Oct

LD0410194392 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 1800 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, there is to be a meeting in Zidlochovice on 6 October. This is why some members of the government spent three days in Trencianske Teplice—to prepare a proposal for this meeting. Despite this, in news bulletins yesterday we learned from information given by Mr. Geci [spokesman for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS] that on 6 October only HZDS and Civic Democratic Party [ODS] representatives should meet. Is this the case?

[Meciar] We are sincerely looking forward to the meeting with the Government of the Czech Republic and we have been preparing consistently for it. We originally agreed for the meeting to be held on 6 October in Zidlochovice and that it should start at 1000. On the basis of developments in the Federal Assembly, where the bill on power-sharing was rejected—we have been told by the Czech side that it was improbable that this bill would be passed at all—and on the basis of the fact that on 2 October, there was an extraordinary session of the Federal Government during which Prime Minister Strasky cast doubts on three members of the government for the Slovak side and their right to work in the government, we suggested that, as there is a deadlock both in the Federal Assembly and in the Federal Government, this was something republican governments could not resolve. It would therefore be better for the HZDS and ODS political leaderships to meet. [passage omitted]

Explains Proposal

LD0410213492 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 1740 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by unidentified correspondent on 4 October; place not given—recorded; broadcast in progress]

[Excerpt] [Meciar] ...yesterday I proposed this twice to Prime Minister Klaus. He rejected it. We have agreed to meet the government, but only after adoption of the power-sharing law. The deadlock and crisis that have been created are different and cannot be solved through the government mechanism. We must hold talks, we want to hold talks, but those holding talks must be those capable of breaking through the deadlock.

[Correspondent] Is it then possible that the Czech side will send the Government of the Czech Republic to the Zidlochovice talks and that our side will send representatives from the HZDS?

[Meciar] No, this cannot happen. The agreement is that the governments will not go there. My proposal was to send political representatives who can break through the deadlock in both Federal bodies, which, as of 1 October, became unable to function. This is why we proposed this solution. We propose a meeting of political leaderships and representatives of the Federal Assembly, the Federal Government, and national councils so we can attempt to jointly untie the knot of activities of these bodies in a way that will renew their function for the time they should still function.

[Correspondent] Another subject of discussion was the future coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks. Did these talks also influence the Federal Assembly's failure to adopt the bill on ending the Federation?

[Meciar] Above all, I do not consider the failure to adopt this bill to be a failure. This is a success. On first sight, what I am saying is absurd, but it is true. This is a success for both the ODS and for us. The only pity is that it was not a more pronounced manifestation. I will say more about this at my news conference on 5 October.

The second sphere of circumstances in this context is not the failure to adopt the bill; it is the unwillingness to discuss a power-sharing bill, the unwillingness to observe the obligations that ensue from the first Bratislava agreement and that should have been resolved by 30 September. A number of things have not been fulfilled. This is why we want to hold talks. We will hold them and we are looking for ways to do so. [passage omitted]

Klaus Details Czech 'Limits' in Upcoming Talks

LD0410202992 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Report on interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by unidentified correspondent; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. Prime Minister, what is your assessment of the present situation?

[Klaus] If you mean the political situation, then the answer is not very good. We have been doing everything possible since the elections to keep the situation calmly under control, so that everything that is taking place in our country will not lead to chaos but will be resolved. For a long time, I have believed that it would be possible. It has not been easy—sometimes one has to swallow a thing or two—but in the past 10 days, the situation has certainly become more dramatic. This is not because of us; we have not done anything new. Without a doubt, it has been because of the Slovak side.

I think that everybody has noticed the accumulation of individual steps: starting with the unfortunate address in Nuremberg about the Czechoslovak-German treaty, casting doubt on the drafted bill on the division of Federation property, departing from the State Defense Council, not reaching an agreement, and finally, the unfortunate voting for a commission to investigate what kind of union to create in this country. These are many

things that together are creating a completely new political situation. Then the final blow: the unwillingness to take part in the planned meeting in Zidlochovice, which has nothing to do with all this directly. This is the final straw.

[Correspondent] Is this what you discussed with Mr. Meciar yesterday?

[Klaus] Naturally, in our many telephone conversations, which together lasted more than an hour, we discussed this. I think the Slovak side does not fully appreciate what the voting on the Czech-Slovak union—on the proposal of Deputy Zeman—by the HZDS, together with the Czech left wing, means in terms of Czech public opinion and the Czech political sphere. I think the Slovak side does not feel it, does not want to feel it, or is simply unable to feel it. I do not want to pass any judgments, but I have not been able to convince Mr. Meciar.

[Correspondent] The talks in Zidlochovice are lost. What will happen next?

[Klaus] I keep saying that the talks have to take place. If some fail, there have to be other talks. If talks between governments fail, then there must be a meeting between political parties. If this fails, something else has to succeed. I am the last person to call for one-sided steps or who would like to dramatize the situation. There are others who dramatize, who leave [reference to Meciar's departure from a State Defense Council session], who do not take part. This will certainly not be the policy of our side, not even in the months to come. However, and I have to state this clearly, something has snapped, something new has happened and we have indeed learned a clear lesson from this.

[Correspondent] Yes, there is a limit to any patience. Where is the limit for you?

[Klaus] Our limit is not to allow chaos being introduced into the life in this country. I do not believe that the much advertised alternatives of our left-wing forces forming an alliance with the Slovak side are possible. I consider this as an exaggeration, a more extreme limit of something, not a realistic political danger.

Our limits, however, are clear: We do know that we have the responsibility of preserving calm in this country, of transforming the country to progress as quickly as possible. I well know that there is no force that can persuade our parliaments to adopt a state budget for 1993 in the form of some kind of a federal budget. As a former finance minister, I know this very well. I said it a long time ago, but in recent months—when it seemed that we could regulate it, move it a different way—I did not mention it again. However, I said long ago that the state budget for 1993 would be a problem no matter how much political parties, representatives, parliaments, and governments discussed things. It is a pity that this will indeed be the case. It is certain that the Czech side will never agree to a budget that would have the same character as that of the last two to three years. This will, I think, be an impulse.

[Correspondent] Then this is your limit?

[Klaus] Yes, this is the limit. From 1 January, I cannot imagine the basis on which a federation, or union, or pseudo-union, or duplex, or anything else could exist.

Klaus, Kovac Comment on Bill To End Federation

LD0210012992 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2125 GMT 1 Oct 92

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus and Federal Assembly Chairman Michal Kovac by unidentified correspondent in the Prague studio—live]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] I welcome Vaclav Klaus, prime minister of the Czech Government, who is also a Federal Assembly deputy, to our studio. Good evening.

Mr. Prime Minister, the fact that the government bill on how to end the Federation failed and that, on the other hand, the resolution put forward by a Social Democratic Party deputy [Milos Zeman] was very surprisingly passed by an absolute majority is a certain signal, probably a rather serious signal. Could the explanation for this be that, in substance, the opposition and also, partly, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] prefer a certain unidentifiable union or a union that cannot be identified in more specific terms to disintegration and the leaving of the Federation?

[Klaus] I have to say that, for me, the result of today's vote represents not just a surprise, but a certain warning because we all feared the failure of the first law—that is, the law on how to end the federation—to be passed. Nevertheless, this was something that could happen, and we feared that.

What alarms me, fundamentally, is the second issue—that a proposal to form a parliamentary commission for transforming the Federation into a union was passed. This is truly a shift; a warning shift. I would call this a dangerous shift for us. We were used to obstructions by the left-wing opposition; we all got used to it and almost no democratically thinking citizens are surprised by that anymore. What has happened now is worse. The new element in today's vote was an association between the HZDS and the Czech left-wing forces.

This truly is a breach of the form and method of cooperation between the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and the HZDS as has existed so far. This is dangerously close to what we keep hearing everyday—that the Czech left-wing parties have associated themselves—in the long-term—with the HZDS. This could truly represent a threat to the very principles of our entire post-November development.

[Correspondent] On the other hand, the union is not such a surprise after all because—as we know—such a proposal has been voiced already. [passage omitted]

[Klaus] We have not underestimated this trend. For almost three years we have been fighting constant Slovak pressure aimed at breaking the common state of the Czechs and Slovaks. We are sorry about this—sincerely sorry—but are aware that nothing can be done about it.

Nevertheless, there is no way we could allow its replacement with a caricature of a common state in the form of some sort of confederation or union. This is truly totally, totally unacceptable for us. Unfortunately, parliament has again contributed to this by its vote today and somebody has thus got a chance.

Such a state entity is not in the interest of the citizens of the Czech Republic. I could say it is also not so for the citizens of the Slovak Republic—but I say of the Czech Republic now. And there is no way we are going to support it. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent, in Slovak] And I welcome another guest in our studio—Federal Assembly Chairman Michal Kovac. [passage omitted]

[Kovac, in Slovak] I have to reject a certain accusation of the HZDS regarding the fact that a resolution was adopted by the Federal Assembly that asks the Presidium to form a working group to deal with the principles of a union.

I perceive this resolution as a certain step to meet the opposition parties that are on guard halfway—whether we are capable of accepting at least some of their proposals put forward in the Federal Assembly. I perceived this proposal as an initiative and the preparedness of a certain group of deputies to work on outlining an idea of our future link—regardless of their decision to call it a union. I was not concerned at that moment about what they call it, I was more interested in the possibility that the results of this work could be beneficial both to the Civic Democratic Union and the Movement for a Democratic Union.

Moreover, this is not a law yet—it is something to be worked on—and there is still a decision to be made on this issue by the Presidium. Only subsequently will a question emerge as to whether to put this on the agenda of the Federal Assembly deliberations. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Thus, in your view you did not break agreements between the HZDS and ODS?

[Kovac] No, since there was no agreement as far as this issue is concerned. We had agreements on individual amendment proposals on the bill on the ways to end the Federation. Nevertheless, we have not, unfortunately, concluded any agreements on a Federal Assembly resolution on this issue.

On behalf of the HZDS, I can say that, if we had concluded such an agreement, we would certainly have respected it fully. [passage omitted]

Federal Government Discusses Army Division

AU0410192892 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Oct 92 p 2

["(jop)"-signed report: "The Army on the Agenda Again"]

[Excerpts] The expanded policy statement discussed by the Federal Government at its session in Prague yesterday will be discussed again once comments have been received from individual departments and will then be submitted to the Federal Assembly. [passage omitted]

A more suitable division for the Army is division at a 2:1 ratio; however, where this is not possible, the territorial principle can be applied, said Federal Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak at a news conference held after the government session. In response to speculation—following Vladimir Meciar's pronouncements—surrounding the Army's division, Andrejcak said he thinks the issue will be resolved—and a unified interpretation of it arrived at—at the next meeting held within the framework of the political negotiations. Deputy Prime Minister Miroslav Macek added that the territorial principle will also be applied to the Army because casting doubts on it would mean the Czech Republic having to pay 40-60 billion korunas to Slovakia for the "monstrous and nonsensical schemes that Minister Dzur [defense minister in the 1970's and 1980's] and others like him constructed," which is "rather absurd." Of course, this does not mean that the Czech side would be unwilling to divide the Army's movable assets at a 2:1 ratio and to compensate for disproportions in the Army's territorial deployment.

In reply to a question from HOSPODARSKE NOVINY on how Army representatives intend to resolve the problems faced by officers born in one republic and serving in the other republic, Imrich Andrejcak said he is convinced that the laws on state citizenship, which the republics should adopt, will be sufficiently accommodating to allow Czech citizens to serve in the Slovak Army and vice versa. In his opinion, it is economically more suitable for the military college system to operate as it has done up to now for at least another academic year, and republican laws should create the conditions for this. According to Minister Andrejcak, he disclosed at a 29 September meeting with the corps of commanders that in an attempt to ascertain how many career soldiers born in one republic and now serving in the other republic intend to adopt state citizenship of the republic in which they reside, soldiers will be given at least 48 hours to make up their minds. Their decision will not be binding, however, but will merely provide an indication. Further measures will then be taken according to the result.

Deputy Foreign Minister Martin Palous was recalled from his post at his own request on 1 October. Deputy Foreign Trade Minister Lubomir Martak will be recalled from his post—also at his own request—on 7 October.

Defense Council Approves Air Force Division

AU0210160292 Prague CSTK in English 1841 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept 30 (CSTK)—A variant of an eventual division of Czechoslovakia's anti-air defense and military air force approved by the State Defense Council this week is based on equivalent military and economic value, said Czechoslovak Army Chief of General Staff Major-General Karel Pezl at a press conference here today.

He stated that the approved variant will approach the division in a ratio of 2:1, while preserving their function and enabling the two (Czech and Slovak) Republics to create their own air forces.

The dispute over the division of the Air Force and anti-air defense has been completely solved from a technical standpoint and has even led to a consensus as to its implementation, said Pezl. 100,000 tonnes of military material should be transferred between the two armies, he added.

Pezl said that international agreements concluded by Czechoslovakia should be respected and kept by both successor states. These agreements obligate Czechoslovakia to decrease its military to 140,000 soldiers by the end of 1993. Preliminary deductions assume that this number will be secured according to the 2:1 ratio.

In the course of two years, it has been possible to uniformly distribute land forces on the territory of Czechoslovakia, to create foundations for anti-air defense in Slovakia and at the same time to restructure the basic levels of control in the Czechoslovak Army, said Pezl.

Slovak Minister on Division of Gold Reserves

AU0210165592 Prague CSTK in English 1625 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Bratislava Sept 30 (CSTK)—A large portion of the gold reserves of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia was not created on the basis of a common economy of the Czech and Slovak Republics, but was transferred from the gold reserves of the Slovak State after the end of the Second World War, Slovak Minister of Finance Julius Toth said today.

At a press conference here, Toth said that with the establishment of the Slovak National Bank, which will apparently exercise financial policy in the independent Slovak Republic after January 1, 1993, it will be necessary to discuss the division of Czechoslovakia's gold reserves in greater detail.

Other property of the State Bank should be divided according to the territorial principle in a ratio of 2:1 favoring the Czech Republic, with Czechoslovakia's debt to the International Monetary Fund divided in the same manner, he said.

After establishing its own currency, the Slovak side will consider introduction of a fixed or floating monetary parity with the Czech Republic. This, however, depends on whether the successor republics are able to conclude a monetary union, added Toth.

Foreign banks introducing capital (into Slovakia) can count on a minimum ten-year tax holiday, he stated. A proposed tax law put forward by the Slovak Finance Ministry and the Slovak Government, which should be passed today by the Slovak National Council, should not require further modifications, said Toth.

State Bank Reacts

AU0210170092 Prague CSTK in English 2024 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Text] Prague Sept 30 (CSTK)—Gold is a part of the total hard currency reserves of the State Bank of Czechoslovakia and can be divided within its framework, said State Bank spokesperson Martin Svehla today.

The State Bank administers gold reserves totalling about 105 tonnes. The development of these reserves is recorded in accounts from the year 1920, when the reserve stood at 6.5 tonnes. The State Bank does not have at its disposal any proof which would reliably identify the reserves of the Slovak State after the end of World War II, Svehla stated.

The State Bank was reacting to statements made today by Slovak Minister of Finance Julius Toth, who said that a large part of the State Bank's gold reserves was not created on the basis of a common economy of the Czech and Slovak Republics, but was transferred from the Slovak State after the war.

Applying this historical position to the division would obviously be difficult, said Svehla.

Jeszenszky To Attend EC, Visegrad Meeting

LD0510135592 Budapest MTI in English 1150 GMT 5 Oct 92

[Text] Luxembourg, October 5 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky arrived in Luxembourg on Monday [5 October] to attend the first joint foreign ministerial session of the European Community and the Visegrad Three.

The Czechoslovak, Hungarian and Polish ministers were invited to Luxembourg under the association agreements the EC concluded with the three countries last December. The agreements, which have still to be ratified, stipulate that the 12 EC states and the Visegrad Three will hold regular high-level political consultations.

Observers regard the invitation as being a strong indication that the agreements will be ratified.

Emergency Landing of German Plane Denied

LD0410182392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Text] As yet, we do not know for certain whether this report by Csaba Belenessy is based on a practical joke or a real tragedy. In any event, those concerned have denied the claim, and the spokesman of the Border Guard, who was telephoned by Edit Schrantz, does the same.

[Begin recording] [Belenessy] According to a report originating from an unofficial source, around midday today the pilot of a (?DC-3) passenger aircraft, belonging to the German airline Lufthansa, sent a radio message to the control tower of the Balatonkiliti airport in which he reported having been hit over Croatia. He said he managed to get into Hungarian airspace and could see a large body of water with a concrete strip beside it. He said he would attempt an emergency landing with 160 passengers on board.

In answer to my question, (Gyoergy Kunar), deputy commander of the Balatonkiliti airport, confirmed that there had been a radio conversation of unusual content today, but he refrained from giving further details because, he said, it is conceivable that the message originated not from an aircraft but from a land-based radio station; in other words, if I may put it like this, someone was playing a practical joke on them.

[Correspondent Edit Schrantz] On the line is Border Guard spokesman Attila Krisan.

[Krisan] We asked all our southern Border Guard garrisons and patrols. None have reported an overflight, nor is there any knowledge of an aircraft landing in the border zone. If there were aircraft pieces anywhere, or if an aircraft had landed anywhere, then it is inconceivable that we would not have received a report by now. If such a report is received, we take it very seriously and we look into the matter seriously. And I can say on the basis of the facts that we have not seen an aircraft fly in or land in the border zone. [end recording]

No Military Action Against Slovakia Foreseen

LD0510105292 Budapest MTI in English 1027 GMT 5 Oct 92

[Text] Budapest, October 5 (MTI)—Despite its controversy with Slovakia over the Gabcikovo hydroelectric plant, Hungary will not take any military action against its neighbour, Minister Without Portfolio Ferenc Madl said in an interview carried by the Monday [5 October] issue of SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN.

In the interview, Madl denied Meciar's claim that Hungary had concentrated its troops along the Slovak border.

Should Slovakia divert the Danube, the minister said, Hungary does not exclude the possibility of economic sanctions. The minister said he hoped that, despite all what has happened, Slovakia, "a central European country observing international norms and seeking integration into Europe," would not take such a step in the late 20th century.

In reply to another question, Madl said Hungary would reconsider and modify its position if the committee, which is still to be asked for arbitration, concludes that the Hungarian position is wrong and the environmental hazards are insignificant.

Antall Receives Leader of Hungarians in Slovakia

AU0210142192 Budapest MTI in English 1830 GMT 29 Sep 92

[Text] Budapest, 29 Sep (MTI)—Establishing good ties between Hungary and independent Slovakia is in the common interest of the two peoples. This was the conclusion of Tuesday [29 September] talks between Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and a delegation of the Hungarian parties represented in the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council.

The delegation, headed by Miklos Duray, leader of the Co-existence Movement, was invited to Hungary by the Hungarian Democratic Forum's parliamentary group.

The two sides surveyed the political processes under way in Czechoslovakia, and relations between Hungary and its northern neighbours, Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo told MTI. They called for removing obstacles to the development of ties between Hungary and Slovakia, namely to find mutually acceptable solutions to disputes over the Gabcikovo hydroelectric dam project and the Slovak Constitution's clauses on minorities.

They agreed that an independent Slovakia should not be isolated and should be backed in its efforts to take part in European cooperation within European integration organisation norms. The talks will be resumed next week

with the Hungarian parties of Slovakia visiting Budapest again at the government's invitation.

On Tuesday, the delegation met parliament Speaker Gyorgy Szabad. The MP's [member of parliament] from Czechoslovakia welcomed their visit coinciding with the first discussion in Hungary's parliament of the bill on national and ethnic minorities. They got acquainted with the text earlier and highly appreciated it. They said the bill would regulate national and minority coexistence at the right level and might have a considerable effect during elaboration of all-European norms for handling minority issues.

Minister Considers 1956 Shooting 'Mass Murder'

LD0210114792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] The Military Court of Gyor has refused to carry out an investigation against the person who ordered line-firing in Mosonmagyarovar in 1956 because on the basis of laws valid at that time the case cannot be considered a crime violating international military law, and an ordinary murder now cannot be punished any more because according to the law it becomes statute-barred after 15 years.

Gyula Varadi dealt with the matter after the civil public prosecutor handed over the report to the military prosecutor. The case was initiated by a brother of one of the victims of the line-firing, Zoltan Demeter. The application was signed by several of those hurt in the line-firing. One of those who initiated the case has already announced that he will appeal to the military chief prosecutor against the refusal.

According to Defense Minister Lajos Fur, the line-firing in Mosonmagyarovar in 1956 is a mass murder, therefore in its judgement the law concerning war crimes should be applied.

State Bonds To Finance Deficit Not Planned

LD0310223592 Budapest MTI in English 1812 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Budapest, October 2, 1992 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Finance Ministry will not be forced to issue more state bonds this year in order to finance the budget deficit, Antal Furinger, a senior finance ministry official told ECONEWS today.

In spite of the large budget deficit this year, the budget is in fact overfinanced, Furinger said.

The text of the 1992 supplementary budget bill to be presented to parliament early next week makes it possible to finance the deficit with short-term treasury bills if the Finance Ministry sees this as the best option, he added.

The supplementary budget bill contains a Huf [Hungarian forints] 198bn [billion] deficit as against the 69bn originally planned for the year.

To finance the deficit, the supplementary budget bill sets an upper limit of Huf 100bn on new state bond issues instead of the Huf 30bn figure in the original budget law.

The remainder of the extra deficit can be financed through an increase in the stock of various types of treasury bills. The 1992 budget law put a lower limit of Huf 9.8bn on the increase in the stock of treasury bills.

Furinger stressed that expectations of a large number of new state bonds appearing soon on the market with higher interest rates caused by the technical difficulties of such a quick placement are wrong. It is, however, in general preferable to finance the budget deficit through longer-term bonds than through short term securities, Furinger said. When the market is ready, the Finance Ministry will go over to longer-term bonds, he added.

Furinger said that, in order to keep the market informed, the Finance Ministry will draw up and publish a schedule of state bond issues.

At present, banks keep a large part of their excess liquidity in special treasury bonds available only to banks. At the end of August, the stock of the first series of these securities amounted to Huf 94bn and that of the second series to Huf 24.1bn. The liquid assets of the budget stood at Huf 96.5bn at the end of August.

The stock of state bonds grew by 37bn between January and the end of August. Huf 15bn worth of three-year state bonds were auctioned yesterday, and a further Huf 7bn issue of long-term bonds is in preparation. All of these state bond issues are in line with the original 1992 budget.

Skubiszewski Criticizes Economic Ties With Japan

LD0410182492 Warsaw PAP in English 2253 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Tokyo, Oct. 2—Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, currently paying an official visit to Tokyo, was received Friday [2 October] by Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, and conferred with Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe. According to Japan's KYODO agency Skubiszewski stirred up a storm when he told his host Michio Watanabe that Polish-Japanese economic relations were not proceeding in the right direction.

The Polish foreign minister pointed out that Japanese investments in Poland were too small and the volume of Polish-Japanese trade dropped by 40 percent last year.

KYODO said Minister Skubiszewski also expressed his deep disappointment at the fact that Japan was not realizing the programme of economic aid to Poland announced still in 1990 by the then Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu.

In reply to these critical remarks the Japanese foreign minister assured Skubiszewski that "despite objections to reduce Polish debts Japan will make efforts to keep its promise of assistance to Poland." He made it clear that the promised 500 million dollars in credits from the export-import bank of Japan and 300 million dollars worth of export guarantees from the Japanese Ministry of Trade and Industry would be offered as soon as Poland signs an agreement on its creditworthiness with the International Monetary Fund. The latter is expected to take place before the end of 1992.

Skubiszewski appealed during his talks with Watanabe for a conclusion of a Polish-Japanese agreement on mutual protection of investments which could encourage Japanese businessmen to invest in Poland. According to Watanabe, however, Japanese businessmen will become interested in investing their money in Poland only after they are granted privileges equal to those enjoyed by investors from the European Communities. The Japanese foreign minister also thought it necessary for Poland to grant Japan the most favoured nation status.

Skubiszewski and Watanabe also spoke about further consultations that would lead to a conclusion of agreement on economic cooperation, satisfactory to both countries. The two foreign ministers exchanged diplomatic notes on a mission of Japanese volunteers for foreign cooperation that will be sent to Poland for the first time ever in the history of Polish-Japanese relations. They also agreed on a grant of 44 million yen to buy Japanese language teaching aids for Warsaw University.

Touching upon international issues during his conversation with Watanabe, Skubiszewski urged Japan not to press Russia too hard over a long-running territorial dispute concerning the Kuril Islands.

According to KYODO agency Minister Skubiszewski said that Japan and Russia should settle their dispute in accordance with international law. "I know there exists a territorial issue between Japan and Russia, but Japan should make efforts not to harden the position of Russia," the Polish foreign minister was quoted as declaring.

KYODO wrote Minister Skubiszewski's remarks angered his Japanese counterpart who questioned the Polish guest's understanding of the problem.

Minister Skubiszewski was also received by the Emperor of Japan Akihito. On behalf of President Lech Walesa, he invited his imperial majesty to visit Poland.

Foreign Minister Skubiszewski Visits Japan

WA0510144892

For Japanese reportage on the 1-4 October visit to Japan by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, including reports on his talks with Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe, please see the Japan section of the 1 October East Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Gaydar, Walesa, Suchocka Meet, Discuss Finances

LD0310032192 Warsaw PAP in English 2351 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Warsaw Oct. 2—Russian Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar on Friday [2 October] met with President Lech Walesa, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, lower house (Sejm) and Senate speakers and Polish businessmen interested in dealing with Russia to discuss the regulation of both countries' mutual financial liabilities.

The Polish and Russian prime ministers also signed three agreements on the protection of mutual investments, trans-border cooperation and cooperation between St. Petersburg and selected regions in Poland. Gaydar and Suchocka met for two rounds of talks to discuss terms of Russian debt repayment. The Polish prime minister described Gaydar's visit as very important politically and she added that "we are very interested in reaching a breakthrough in the Polish-Russian relations."

In a meeting with House speakers, Wieslaw Chrzanowski (Sejm) and August Chelkowski (Senate), the Russian prime minister discussed the possibilities of cooperation between Polish and Russian parliaments, the process of privatization in both countries, border security and the improvement of mutual relations.

Yegor Gaydar described to Polish businessmen various possibilities of cooperation with Russian enterprises and assured that in spite of the difficult economic condition of his country, "all barriers in economic relations with Poland will gradually be removed".

'Zero Option' Favored

LD0210174292 Warsaw PAP in English 1709 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—Lech Walesa and Russian Premier Yegor Gaydar both favoured the "zero option" (a mutual wiping out of financial and trade debts) during their talks in Warsaw on Friday [2 October], according to presidential press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski.

Drzycimski revealed that both men presented their own versions of the option and that a team of experts was currently working out its realisation. He added that Gaydar had remarked that, "the success of the Polish reforms is the taking away of political arguments from the opponents of reform in Russia."

Gaydar brought forward the date of the final withdrawal of Russian troops from Polish territory to October 24 from the November 15 deadline which had been agreed at Walesa's talks with President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow earlier this year.

Walesa proposed that a personal representative of each country's president be posted with the other president. "This should facilitate communications between both presidents on important matters," explained Drzycimski.

Drzycimski said that Walesa thought that Poland and Russia should help each other, "If that does not happen, some third party will decide about our affairs. Contacts between Poland and Russia should become model contacts, and not just for this region."

Russia To Provide Oil

LD0210213992 Warsaw PAP in English 2036 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—Russian Premier Yegor Gaydar told a press conference on Friday [2 October] that Russia would provide all the oil Poland needed this year and the next.

This year, he revealed, Russia would supply Poland with 4 million tonnes of oil instead of the 7 million previously announced, but Poland had asked for the reduction.

He stated that Russia was in favour of the "zero option" which equalises financial and trading debts between Poland and Russia.

Gaydar said that both countries wanted to conduct their financial affairs in convertible currencies and cease forms of trading such as barter. He added that the setting up of a joint bank was being considered.

Gaydar thought that the question of sharing out the property formerly belonging to Comecon [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] could be sorted out in line with proposals he had made to Polish negotiators on Friday.

Russia's premier stressed the importance of Poland's reforms: "Despite certain structural differences in the system of organising the economy, the experience of the Polish reforms has a great significance for Russia since the problems, mistakes and contradictions are the same."

Gaydar felt that the necessary agreement on cemeteries and places of commemoration for victims of war and repression would "not allow those who are intent on instigating conflict between both nations to stir up feelings and emotions."

Impact of Defense Funding Level Viewed

Part One

PM0510102292 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 22 Sep 92 p 3

[Part one of Tadeusz Soboleski article: "The Brutal Truth of Statistics: What Is the Polish Army Like?"]

[Text] For almost three years now, the Ministry of National Defense [MON] budget, which is sometimes (rather overoptimistically) dubbed a "survival budget," has done no more than provide the means for barely maintaining the sector's existing assets. Calculated at today's prices, in 1986 the army's annual expenditure totaled 42.5 trillion zlotys [Z]. Last year, they were given a budget of Z18.8 trillion to cover all their needs. It is easy to work out that over a six-year period defense expenditure was reduced by 56 percent. The biggest cuts (of about 30 percent) were made precisely last year. However, despite the reduction, the defense sector's share in state expenditure certainly did not fall equally drastically. In 1986, the army consumed 8.3 percent of the state budget, and in 1991, 7.7 percent. Why was this? The answer is simple: The state budget suffered a similar decrease.

How do we stand in comparison with other European countries? Well, it would be better for us not to know the answer. Let me cite the available 1990 data, assuming in advance that even if something has improved here (which is highly unlikely, anyway), it cannot have improved much. In 1990 the cost of maintaining the national armed forces, calculated per 10,000 population, was $940,000. In the same year, accordingly, Germany spent $6.3 million per 10,000 population; France, $6.45 million; Belgium, $4.07 million; Italy, $3.52 million; and Greece, $3 million. Even Czecho-Slovakia outdistanced us here, having spent $2.24 million per 10,000 population.

Quoting these strings of figures may be tedious; but their significance is quite brutal. Occasionally, we hear the argument that if we had kept last year's budget at the previous year's level, it would have been sufficient to maintain the army's existing strength and capacity intact. This argument is totally wrong. Last year, field exercises were almost entirely abandoned. There was no field training in coordinating the operations of different

units and categories of armed forces in simulated combat conditions. Exercises were, fortunately, still carried out—but only on maps (!!!). The possible consequences of that can surely be appreciated by laymen as well as experts. Military aircraft carried out only one-third of the number of scheduled flights essential for completion of training programs, while navy vessels rarely went out to sea. Reducing the duration of military service has also caused a number of consequences. Soldiers serving in specialized units (signals, radar, technical, and so on) were trained for only four instead of six months. A serviceman is now considered to have reached his full operational capability after 12 months' training. Because of the sector's obvious need to economize, by the second half of last year university graduates were no longer required to do national service. No graduates were called up this year, either. In addition, almost all reserve force training schemes were scrapped this year. This is understandable when we consider the loss-of-earnings compensation that the army would have had to pay the reservists while they were in training. However, as a result the army became effectively "cut off" from its potential reserve forces. Standard worldwide defense norms require that, in the event of war, an army should be capable of a threefold manpower increase. This is all very well, provided that adequately trained reserve personnel is there in the first place.

I heard that a couple of retired generals have estimated that, in the event of an armed conflict, it would take the Ukrainian army no more than 48 hours to arrive outside Wroclaw. Officially, of course, no one is prepared to confirm this catastrophic prediction—and understandably so because promoting defeatist attitudes would only lead to a further debilitation of our armed forces, and this is something that we can ill afford. Nevertheless, it is essential that we discuss—publicly and reasonably openly—the actual extent of the sector's assets and potentials. An efficient, well-equipped army is a guarantee of the nation's security. The actual value of our armed forces lies in its trained experts, its not-too-badly organized military structures (where further efficiency-enhancing measures are being introduced even now), and, despite the low budget, a certain amount of modern weapons and equipment.

What are our army's actual assets? According to last year's reported figures, in 1991 Polish armed forces had 299,000 servicemen (including 112,000 career personnel). The ground forces accounted for 196,150 personnel. However, because of the need to make budgetary cuts, the actual strength of the armed forces was lower by 70,000. Until recently, army units were distributed throughout three military districts: Pomeranian (command headquarters in Bydgoszcz), Warsaw, and Silesian (command headquarters in Wroclaw). A fourth, Krakow military district was created a month ago. It covers the country's southeastern territories.

Part Two

PM0510102692 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 23 Sep 92 p 3

[Part two of Tadeusz Soboleski article: "Military Districts On Parade: What Is the Polish Army Like?"]

[Text] Before we go on to inventory the actual strength of individual military districts, it is necessary to give here a brief instruction on the structure and composition of army units. It is worth remembering that a mechanized division—that is, one of the main structural units in our army—is made up of 11,000 servicemen. Among other things, its equipment consists of 186 tanks, 199 infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers, and 238 artillery pieces and mortars. Divisional headquarters commands three mechanized regiments (each usually comprising two infantry and tank battalions), one artillery regiment, one antiaircraft artillery regiment, one artillery battalion, one antitank artillery battalion, and also the following battalions: reconnaissance, maintenance, medical, signals, combat engineers, and supply.

Until recently, the composition of the Warsaw Military District included two mechanized divisions, one security regiment, one signals regiment, one combat engineers brigade, one antitank artillery battalion, two artillery and missiles forces training centers, one training center for chemical defense forces, and three logistics and technical support facilities. It is worth pointing out that the logistics and technical support facilities are structures that can be reorganized into mechanized divisions. In addition, the Warsaw Military District included the Sixth Air Assault Brigade and the Fifth Podhale Rifle Regiment. These will now be transferred to the command of the Krakow Military District.

The Pomeranian Military District was previously made up of three mechanized divisions, two artillery brigades, one coastal defense brigade, one combat engineers brigade, and one signals brigade, as well as an antitank artillery regiment, one bridging regiment, two chemical defense regiments, one signals regiment, and one radio-and-cable link regiment.

The Silesian Military District commanded the greatest actual strength. The district headquarters are situated in Wroclaw. In the district we had four mechanized divisions (Krosno Odrzanskie, Opole, Gubin, Zagan), two artillery brigades (Biedrusko, Boleslawiec), two artillery (gunnery) brigades (Glogow, Zgorzelec), two antitank artillery regiments (Pleszew, Gniezno), two combat engineers brigades (Brzeg, Gorzow Wielkopolski), one bridging regiment (Glogow), one chemical defense regiment (Zgorzelec), one radio-and-cable link regiment (Sieradz), one signals regiment (Wroclaw), one assault battalion (Lubliniec), and one logistics and technical support facility (Nysa).

Our country's airspace is defended by the Air and National Air Defense Forces that can also act in support of the ground forces' operations. They are made up of

four air defense corps (Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, Wroclaw, Poznan). Their basic operational units are: two fighter-bomber divisions, four artillery divisions, eight fighter regiments (including one in Wroclaw), one transport regiment, one tactical reconnaissance regiment, two assault helicopter regiments, and one transport helicopter regiment. These are equipped with the following aircraft: MiG-29, MiG-23, and MiG-21 fighter aircraft; Su-22, M-4, and Su-20 fighter-bombers; Su-20R and MiG-21R reconnaissance aircraft; finally, Mi-24, Mi-17, Mi-8, and Mi-2 helicopters. The air forces are represented by some 80,000 troops.

The Navy, on the other hand, is our least numerous force. It has about 19,000 seamen. Its main operational units are: one warship flotilla, one coastal defense flotilla, special and fighter air regiments, and one antisubmarine warfare helicopter squadron. The inventory of the Navy's actual strength comprises the following: a destroyer, some submarines (three are listed, but it is reported that not all are capable of diving), a missile attack launch; last year we had, among others, 80 warships and launches, 86 special purpose and auxiliary ships, 66 combat aircraft and helicopters, and 41 support aircraft.

Privatization Minister Responds to Criticism

PM0110143392 Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 22 Sep 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Minister Janusz Lewandowski, head of Ministry of Ownership Transformations, by correspondent Jacek Lindner; place and date not given; first paragraph is GLOS WYBRZEZA introduction]

[Text] Minister Janusz Lewandowski is currently the most strongly criticized and regularly attacked politician in Poland. The climate around him was further aggravated by the publication of the Supreme Chamber of Control report, in which Lewandowski's ministry was charged with making a series of errors and exposing the state treasury to the risk of considerable financial losses. The Confederation for an Independent Poland even went as far as presenting a parliamentary motion that Minister Lewandowski be dismissed by the Sejm. However, the motion did not attract the required number of votes; consequently, for the time being at least, the government coalition has won the battle over Lewandowski's mandate.

[Lindner] Minister, do you see yourself as a scapegoat pressed into this role by the opposition, or do you concede that you are simply a victim suffering the consequences of your own mistakes?

[Lewandowski] I believe that I am both! After all, there is the old truth that whenever you do something for the first time, the chances of making a mistake are quite high. I am certainly not trying to deny the accuracy of this claim and insist that the ministry operated in a fault-free fashion. On the other hand, however, I must say that no one who has already learned the rudiments of the ministerial craft and did not commit any criminal offenses need be unduly worried in my position. I believe that there was, and there still is, no reason whatever why I should be dismissed.

[Lindner] What about all the "informal procedures" and "shortcuts"?

[Lewandowski] Mr. Lindner, all the "informalities" and "shortcuts" that you refer to were to the state treasury's distinct advantage.

[Lindner] So do you still insist that the motion to dismiss you was politically inspired?

[Lewandowski] I do. I represented the "soft underbelly" in the Hanna Suchocka government. I believe that a substantial aspect of the whole "Lewandowski affair" that was designed to get me dismissed rather than just to expose me to criticism was an implicit attack on the government.

[Lindner] Do you believe that the mistakes made by the privatization department (including those attributable to other "top people" in the sector) were responsible for the increasing public hostility toward the whole idea of privatization? Or was it, in your opinion, the other way round, with the sequence of causes and results reversed?

[Lewandowski] The relationship between these things is completely different. After all, in privatized enterprises people are paid higher wages and are not threatened by "block layoffs," while the enterprises themselves have better development prospects. I believe that the emergence of the critical attitude toward privatization dates back to the days of the election campaign, when many competing political groups embraced and adopted such misleading populist slogans as "Privatization equals plunder of national assets," "Privatization is nothing but sale of the wealth created by our fathers to the highest foreign bidders," and so on. By now these slogans have assumed the status and the force of national myths, and as such they defy all rational arguments.

[Lindner] What rational arguments?

[Lewandowski] For example, that we have dropped to the very bottom of the list of countries in terms of foreign capital investment. In Hungary, which has only one-third the population of Poland, they have twice as much foreign capital invested in the economy. To maintain the proportion, we would have to have $6 billion of foreign investment in Poland. In fact, we have $1 billion. Nevertheless, even in the face of these figures, people still claim that we are selling out the national assets.

This theme was developed to absurd proportions when Olszewski was prime minister, when criticism of any attempts to open up the economy in the direction of Europe—and, by the same token, of the liberals' programs—served as a virtual political springboard for the former prime minister's policies.

[Lindner] But there are specific accusations leveled against you. For example, the "Creapriv" contract, or the case of the "Bistona" venture...

[Lewandowski] Yes, this is an excellent example. Please note that the Creapriv affair was not of my making and cannot be seen as a blot on my record. Nevertheless, people associate me so completely with anything that concerns privatization that all the errors made within the sector are now attributed to me in a wholly indiscriminate manner. However, the case of the Creapriv contract was a difficult problem that I tackled and solved, but I certainly had not created it myself. I should like to add that it is actually my successor who has been responsible for the worst financial losses associated with the privatization scheme.

[Lindner] But it is you, not anyone else, against whom all the political forces are now joining ranks, from the left to the extreme right.

[Lewandowski] Well, I must have become a sort of "litmus paper" that serves to indicate how a whole variety of people and groups react to economic transformations—rather like Balcerowicz in the past. Clearly, a person like that is needed on our political stage.

[Lindner] Are you considering the possibility of resignation? After all, you generate so much controversy among the Polish public and contribute to a generalized negative view of the government's privatization campaign...

[Lewandowski] The possibility of resignation should always be kept in mind. However, at the moment I am involved in getting the whole privatization machine to run again, in unclogging many channels that have been clogged up. I have had a very good response from a number of companies.

Furthermore, you should remember that our life runs, as it were, along two parallel tracks. The first comprises all the official statements and declarations by politicians and all related political games; the other is economic activity. Here, company directors and managers have shown us very different attitudes.

I will wait until privatization gathers momentum and is able to run under its own steam. Then we will see.

[Lindner] Thank you for talking to us.

Sejm Further Examines Privatization Program

LD0410203692 Warsaw PAP in English 2323 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 2—The Sejm (lower house) on Friday [2 October] initially accepted and sent to parliamentary committees the mass privatization and national investment fund programmes initiated by the Government of Hanna Suchocka. The deputies voted 180 to 146 with 17 abstentions.

The proposed legislation will be reviewed by the parliamentary legislative and privatization committees as well as those concerned with budgetary and financial matters and economic policy.

Voting on the issue took place after a delay demanded by MP's [members of parliament] belonging to the Confederation for Independant Poland (KPN) Parliamentary Club in connection with the refusal of their earlier request that Privatization Minister Janusz Lewandowski provide further clarification of the programmes' import.

Among those who voted against the proposed laws were two MP's from the governing coalition. Most members of the Centre Alliance (PC) abstained, as did some from the Christian National Union's (ZChN's) Catholic Action Movement.

The sejm began discussion on the mass privatization proposal two weeks ago during its last sitting; however, it did not vote on the matter due to the acceptance of a motion made by MP Ryszard Bugaj, working Solidarity, who demanded that the government detail the financial consequences and benefits that acceptance of the proposal would entail. Minister Janusz Lewandowski complied with this request on Thursday and on Friday afternoon the MP's decided to send the proposal to committee.

The information provided to the MP's by Minister Lewandowski indicates that the sale of one million shares at a cost of 300 thousand zlotys [ZL] (24 dollars) each would ensure profit for the programme. According to a recent poll 10-20 million Poles intend to participate in the privatization programme. If the latter figures are realized, the government will earn approximately 5.5 billion ZL (400 million dollars).

However, the amount that would be lost by the state budget as a result of privatized firms no longer being required to pay dividends and excessive wage tax is difficult to assess due to two factors: First, if the privatization plan is implemented from the beginning of next year, no one will pay dividends or the excessive wage tax in their present form. Second, arrears in payments of both dividends and the excessive wage tax are extensive and could, if not cancelled, provide next years budget with considerable income.

Romania Seen as Gateway for Malaysian Goods

BK0310091292 Kuala Lumpur Radio Malaysia Network in Malay 1430 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Romania is prepared to receive Malaysian investment, and wants to increase trade and undertake joint ventures with Malaysia. This was stated by its state secretary for foreign trade, Mr. (Napoleon Pope) to Deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba when they held talks at the Trade and Tourism Ministry in Bucharest today. Romania will be the gateway for Malaysia's products to East European countries. Mr. Ghafar is now on a four-day visit to Romania.

Economic Cooperation Offered

BK0310102992 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 0832 GMT 3 Oct 92

[By Syed Jamil Jaafar]

[Text] Bucharest, Oct 3 (OANA-BERNAMA)—Malaysia has offered to cooperate with Romania in its market reforms and economic recovery.

Deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba said Malaysia could help supply primary commodities and manufactured components to Romanian industries which are now undergoing modernisation.

Malaysia could also supply consumer and manufactured products to the end-users.

"In these products, Malaysia has the competitive edge in price, quality, design and packaging," Ghafar told Romanian businessmen at a luncheon talk Friday [2 October], the second day of his three-day visit here.

He said Malaysia, situated in the heart of ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] and having extensive contacts, could be a springboard to the regional market for Romanian products.

In addition, there were potentials for cooperation between the two countries in such sectors as construction, engineering and consultancy management, and off-shore manufacturing operations.

Malaysia had a substantial and growing import, with the total in 1991 amounting to [Malaysian dollar] $101.1 billion.

Ghafar said Malaysia's market potential was further enhanced by a liberal and transparent import regime. "This makes the market competitive and Romanian products of good quality can certainly find a significant and lucrative market in Malaysia," he said.

Malaysia's trade with Romania is very small at present. Exports to Romania amounted to only U.S. $7.4 million in 1991 against imports of U.S. $9.8 million.

In the afternoon, Ghafar called on President Ion Iliescu at the Presidential Palace. Officials said their discussions centred on economic matters, a high priority area to both Romania, which is undergoing [words indistinct], and Malaysia, which is aggressively trying to go into non-traditional markets.

Ghafar visited the Romanian Export Trade Centre and was scheduled to spend the whole of Saturday touring several Romanian industries.

Rubber, Oil Purchases Planned

BK0510060092 Kuala Lumpur BERNAMA in English 0359 GMT 5 Oct 92

[By Syed Jamil Jaafar]

[Text] Bucharest, Oct 5 (OANA-BERNAMA)—Romania has indicated a desire to buy rubber and palm oil direct from Malaysia.

Romania now gets its rubber supply through third parties.

Deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba during a visit to the Danubiana factory, a manufacturer of tyres for agricultural machinery, was told that Romania wanted to obtain the raw material direct from Malaysia.

RISDA [Rubber Industry Smallholders Development Authority] Chairman Alias Ali, a member of Ghafar's entourage, said he also received several queries from Romanian entrepreneurs wanting to buy natural rubber direct from Malaysia.

"A follow-up action will be taken to sign the contracts concerned," he said.

Ghafar also received a proposal for the setting up of a palm oil refining facility at Constanza, Romania's main port in the Black Sea, to supply the commodity not only to Romania but also other Eastern European countries.

According to the proposal, Malaysian palm oil will be processed at Constanza and then distributed throughout Europe via the Danube which passes through eight countries and links the Black Sea and Rotterdam in Holland, through a network of canals.

Ghafar has indicated interests in the proposal and told Romania that it would be looked into.

Romania, which mostly uses sunflower seed oil to meet its needs for edible oils, shows interests in palm oil which is cheaper and of higher quality.

Several parties in Romania have asked Malaysia to send samples of various blends of palm oil for their scrutiny. The possibility of blending palm oil with sunflower seed oil was being looked into to produce margarine which is widely used in Romania.

Ghafar's visit to Romania is merely to pave way for Malaysian exporters who should now take follow-up action.

Spiroiu, NATO Experts View Army Cooperation

AU0310212592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1915 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/10/1992—The delegation of military experts from the NATO international staff, headed by General Amedeo Sturchio, that paid a visit to Romania over September 28-October 2, left Bucharest on Friday, 2 October 1992.

According to the press office of the Army, the main purpose of the visit was the participation of the NATO delegation in a session on the modernization of the structures of military bodies. Attending were members of the general staff, a number of departments and central bodies of the Romanian Ministry of National Defense and the Military Higher School.

The group of NATO military experts was received by Romania's minister of defense, Lieutenant-General Niculae Spiroiu. Issues were tackled concerning the cooperation of the Romanian Army with NATO bodies and the armies of the NATO member states. The NATO delegation visited a military unit, an exhibition of military technique, cultural and touristic sites in the Romanian capital.

MFN 'Lost in Bucharest, Not in Washington'

AU0410205492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Interview with Nicolae Manolescu and Vintila Bratianu, Democratic Convention of Romania Steering Collegium members, by Silvia Ilies at Bucharest Otopeni International Airport on 4 October—recorded]

[Ilies] Mr. Nicolae Manolescu, you have just returned from Washington. What is the message you have brought for our country?

[Manolescu] We have returned home without the MFN [most favored nation] status, but with a clear-cut message that may also be interpreted as a warning. As long as the leadership in Bucharest will be perceived as a leadership of former communists and current communists, the U.S. Congress will not grant us this status.

[Ilies] Yet, the granting of the status is first of all an economic message for any country.

[Manolescu] That is only an impression. Actually, economically speaking, the status does not mean a lot. In the long run, it can unlock investments and attract investors. Nevertheless, the status is a political symbol defining the attitude of the U.S. Government concerning the countries with which it has economic ties.

In our case, the attitude of the U.S. Congress—not that of the administration because the administration has recommended that the status should be granted to us—is quite obvious. The most important thing for us to do now is to face reality as it is, without trying to deceive ourselves. The status has been lost in Bucharest, not in Washington, and the one to blame for it is not the Hungarian lobby of Congressman [Tom] Lantos, but rather the communist policy that is being perpetuated in a way in Bucharest.

Personally, we keep blaming ourselves to a certain extent for having left too late, perhaps, for Washington. We left one day after the elections [28 September], as we could not possibly leave earlier. We hardly knew anything about the general opinion in the U.S. Congress about the granting of the status. As a matter of fact, we could not have achieved more even if we had gone there earlier because that opinion changed as partial election returns were published in Bucharest. We have had contacts with a number of congressmen, especially with those who have voted in favor of granting us the status because we wanted to find out about the real causes that have led to our losing the status. We also had contacts with representatives of the State Department and with representatives from a number of specialized institutions in Washington, trying hard to spot the reasons that made Congress deny us the status. I think that aside from Georgia, we are the only country that has not been granted most-favored-nation status.

[Ilies] Mr. Vintila Bratianu, what is it that you failed to do for Romania?

[Bratianu] I am mostly hurt when I look at our youth. I can see that our young generation wants to immigrate, wants to leave the country. Many of them have graduated from universities, our best children are leaving us. That is what is hurting me the most, and I wish I could do something to make them stay, to give them back their hope in the future.

I would very much like us to work out a practical formula concerning our future. During our contacts in Washington, I also tried to find some practical examples with respect to what can be done to achieve a better future.

[Ilies] When do you think the issue of granting Romania most-favored-nation status could be rediscussed in Washington?

[Bratianu] Not before February or March of next year. The U.S. Congress is going on vacation in a short time, elections are to be held, and the next meeting of Congress is scheduled for mid-January next year. That is why I do not think it possible that those discussions will resume before February or March.

MFN Refusal Examined

AU0310154792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1302 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 3/10/1992—In its leading article "Who Is To Blame," TINERETUL LIBER tries to see who is guilty of the fact that the U.S. House of Representatives [Congress] voted against the MFN [most-favored-nation] clause being granted to Romania. "A negative term of comparison is always necessary. To

end such a race, if it is a race, Romania has to be more democratic than the old democracies. We do not know to what extent the members of the Democratic National Salvation Front [winner party of the 27 September parliamentary elections] are communist, how much they will brake the reform. They can make us a surprise and turn overnight into serious and open reformers. But to get rid once and for all of the 'label' the foreigners attach to us, we should have needed the political forces at balance, as far as the vote is concerned. If the Americans have never wanted to grant us the clause and have only pretended to, the confusion generated by our elections, the Americans have been blanched over. [sentence as received] It is strange anyhow that Romania was granted this commercial privilege during Ceausescu's rule and it is refused during Iliescu's rule. The present and maybe future president of Romania has a serious matter for meditation during the long autumn days," writes the said daily.

In a correspondence [dispatch] from Washington, CURIERUL NATIONAL mentions: "We have to recognize [admit] that the position adopted by the American congressmen as far as a preferential commercial treatment to Romania is concerned has been unexpected to a greater extent, especially as no objection was made in the specialty subcommittee and committee of the House of Representatives to Resolution 512 in keeping with which Romania had to be granted the MFN status. On the other hand it is clear that the vote in the U.S. House of Representatives has been closely related to the results of the September 27 elections, which fell short of the congressmen's expectations and which made most of them oppose the granting of the said clause," writes the correspondent.

REALITATEA ROMANEASCA mentions that, "as it is normal, the rejection of the clause for Romania triggered reactions on the Romanian political stage. They differ, according to the part of the political spectrum they come from. The national-left reasserts Romania's capability to recover without the 'degrading clause' and the center-right lay the issue at the power's door and accuse it of being unable to create a good image abroad. The fact that Romania was not granted the clause is significant on a political plane first of all, and only secondly on an economic one. It can generate a chain reaction of the Western world, an isolation for Romania, with no precedent after 1989."

In an article headlined "The Congress, the Clause and the Romanians," the weekly VREMEA [Time] shows that "after the shock created by the negative vote, we Romanians should get calmer and let good reasoning have its word. It is very clear that our national pride was wounded unjustly, that Romania was insulted, which is not for the first time in our long and troubled history." The periodical writes that it is almost three years since not only the U.S. Congress, but the whole American public opinion has been fuelled with tons of lies, fakes, distortions, scenarios, claims, and complaints. Where from, it is easy to prove. All obstructions have been made before our eyes, in broad daylight, with a number of elements prompting them, Hungary at the top, with its enormous anti-Romanian propaganda machinery, spread in most West European capitals, and especially in Washington."

BEC Gives Final Presidential Election Returns

AU0410151892 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Text] The Central Electoral Bureau has concluded the checking and counting of ballots cast for Romania's presidency and has completed the official report that has been forwarded to the Constitutional Court together with files containing election returns from all electoral constituencies. The Constitutional Court is to sanction those final election returns.

According to the mentioned report, the two candidates that qualified for the presidential runoff are Mr. Ion Iliescu, who obtained 5,633,456 votes, representing 47.34 percent of the valid votes, and Mr. Emil Constantinescu, who obtained 3,717,006 votes, representing 31.24 percent of the total number of valid votes.

Here are some other figures from the Central Electoral Bureau's official report concerning the final results of the first ballot for Romania's presidency:

The total number of voters who were registered on electoral lists: 16,380,663. The total number of voters who have actually turned up to cast their votes: 12,496,430. The number of voters divided by two plus one [that would have been necessary for any of the candidates to win the elections in the first ballot]: 8,190,332. The total number of valid votes: 11,898,856. The total number of void votes: 580,617.

Here are the figures concerning the total number of valid votes cast throughout the country for each of the candidates:

Ion Iliescu: 5,633,456 votes received, representing 47.34 percent of the total number of valid votes [11,898,856 votes]. His percentage as related to the total number of voters [16,380,663 voters] on electoral lists: 34.39 percent.

Emil Constantinescu: 3,717,006 votes received, representing 31.24 percent of the total number of valid votes. His percentage as related to the total number of voters on electoral lists: 22.69 percent.

Gheorghe Funar: 1,294,388 votes received, representing 10.88 percent of the total number of valid votes. His percentage as related to the total number of voters on electoral lists: 7.90 percent.

Caius Traian Dragomir: 564,655 votes received, representing 4.75 percent of the total number of valid votes. His percentage as related to the total number of voters on electoral lists: 3.45 percent.

Ioan Manzatu: 362,485 votes received, representing 3.05 percent of the total number of valid votes. His percentage as related to the total number of voters on electoral lists: 2.21 percent.

Mircea Druc: 326,866 votes received, representing 2.75 percent of the total number of valid votes. His percentage as related to the total number of voters on electoral lists: 2.00 percent.

The official report is signed by the members of the Central Electoral Bureau and contains the official minute concerning the number of valid votes—established after rechecking all invalid votes—cast for Romania's presidency. The number of additional votes [obtained as a result of rechecking the votes initially considered void]: Ion Iliescu—4,601 votes; Emil Constantinescu—2,051 votes; Gheorghe Funar—820 votes; Ioan Manzatu—374 votes; Caius Traian Dragomir—968 votes; Mircea Druc—345 votes. The total number of those votes: 9,159.

Nastase: Neutral Person Would Be Better Premier

AU0310180892 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Answering our correspondent's questions concerning various speculations circulated in the press, Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase commented on the prospects of his taking over the office of Romania's prime minister in the new cabinet. I do not think it would be right for me to become prime minister, Mr. Adrian Nastase said, assessing that in such moments—during which political forces have to regroup—and considering the proposal made a short while ago by the Democratic National Salvation Front, namely that a national unity cabinet should be set up, a [politically] independent person would be a better choice because he could serve as a better bond in the future cabinet.

CDR Disagrees on Joining FDSN Coalition

AU0510154892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1115 GMT 5 Oct 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/10/1992—Questioned about the likelihood of being appointed premier of the new government to be formed after elections—an idea launched by several wide circulation Romanian dailies—Ion Ratiu, in an interview for EVENIMENTUL ZILEI [The Event of the Day], revealed that, although he had had a short interview with President Ion Iliescu, such a proposition had not been made to him, but that, should the proposal be uttered, he would show "readiness" and would give it "due consideration."

Mr. Ratiu pointed out that such a choice coincided with his belief that, with the present political situation and power structures in Romania, only a premier coming from the Democratic Convention of Romania (CDR) could ensure balanced policies and a positive development, in the sense of an efficient coexistence, the quoted source writes.

On the other hand, the manager of the CDR electoral campaign, Ilie Paunescu, published in the 3 October issue of daily DREPTATEA, whose director he is, a critical article about Ion Ratiu, leading member of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party (PNT-CD), affiliated to the CDR, in which the idea of accepting a government coalition with the Democratic National Salvation Front (FDSN) is firmly rejected. "We had a first debate in the convention and nobody showed any hesitation. Everybody resolutely refused to take part in a government dominated by the FDSN," Ilie Paunescu is quoted as having stated to EVENIMENTUL ZILEI.

In reply to the article in DREPTATEA, daily COTIDIANUL of Monday, 5 October, carries a commentary in support of Ion Ratiu's ideas, recommended as "the most uncompromising and constant enemy of all totalitarianisms," known for his "unanimously recognized image of champion of democracy."

PUNR Appoints Funar To Lead Party

AU0510154692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1139 GMT 5 Oct 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/10/1992—A serious tremor was reported at the October 3 meeting of the National Board of the Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR) affecting the top of this party's hierarchy, writes the [5 October issue of] daily ADEVARUL.

Chairman Radu Ceontea was suspended and one deputy chairman, Alin Druga, discharged. Petre Burca, first deputy chairman, and Ioan Alexandru Crisan, deputy chairman, resigned. PUNR is going to be headed by a new team, having Gheorghe Funar as interim chairman.

Petru Burca told the said daily that these changes were an expression of the important differences in the programs, ideologies, and ways of action of the two wings at the top of the PUNR hierarchy. One wing favors a merger between PUNR, the Greater Romania Party [PRM], and the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM] and is against the presence of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] in the government, the other (which, according to Petru Burca includes himself and Radu Ceontea), considers that a cooperation with the CDR is absolutely necessary at present, to ensure Romania's political stability.

In Petru Burca's opinion the attendance of the October 3 meeting was deficient. Zeno Opris, the PUNR founder, was absent, as well as the then PUNR chairman. Some local branches were represented by simple members instead of their chairmen, some others were not represented at all, mentioned Mr. Burca.

Presidency Urges Enforcement of UN Flight Ban

LD0310165492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] One of the most important conclusions of the London conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina is the ban on all military flights over that country. In order for the ban to be observed, the Security Council must adopt a new resolution on that, says today's message of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency to the UN Security Council, Butrus-Ghali, Lawrence Eagleburger, John Major, the permanent members of the Security Council, and the EC Ministerial Council.

We would appreciate strong and organized support for the resolution, the message says. That is the minimum that we expect of you. If the resolution is not adopted, that will be a clear message to the aggressor that they can continue destroying towns inflicting huge casualties and losses, and destroying the entire infrastructure and industry, the message of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency says.

Owen Calls For No-Fly Zone, War Crimes Trials

AU0510095792 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 5 Oct 92

[Text] Military flights over Bosnia-Hercegovina should be urgently banned, because only that can prevent the bombing of Bosnia. This statement was made by Lord Owen, one of the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, and circulated by all the Croatian media, according to our correspondent from Zagreb, Nada Al-Isa.

Lord Owen also said that the future constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina can only be arranged as a state with autonomous regions, but with a degree of autonomy higher than that desired by the authorities in Sarajevo. However, there can be no partitions or changes of borders.

Lord Owen added that the European Court for human rights would put war criminals in Bosnia-Hercegovina on trial, but first commissions should be formed within the European Council to investigate all charges of war crimes.

Serbs To Abandon Talks if Flights Banned

AU0310214392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Report by Risto Djogo from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] Fighting has resumed in Sarajevo this evening. The Muslim forces at Mojmilo Hill opened fierce artillery fire on the Serbian positions in Nedjarici and Lukavica. The barracks in Lukavica are especially being pounded—therefore, several dozen grenades have fallen on this Serbian military installation. However, according to Serbian sources, there were no casualties on the Serbian side and only the buildings incurred damages. [passage omitted]

Among the political events, we single out a statement by Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Serb Republic Assembly, who said the following regarding last night's statement by U.S. President George Bush that the U.S. Administration will soon propose to the UN Security Council to endorse a new resolution under which all flights in the Bosnia-Hercegovina air space, with the exception of humanitarian flights, would be banned: We cannot accept such an initiative at all. In case a resolution that would ban military flights above Bosnia-Hercegovina is adopted, we will simply file a sharp protest and will probably withdraw the Serb Republic delegation from the Geneva talks, Momcilo Krajisnik said.

Owen: Muslims Will 'Never Forgive Europe'

AU0310192992 Paris AFP in English 1835 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Strasbourg, Oct 3 (AFP)—Lord Owen, co-president of the international conference on the former Yugoslavia, warned on Saturday [3 October] that if the practice of "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia-Hercegovina did not cease, the Moslem world would never forgive Europe.

In an address to the Council of Europe, Owen said the policy of forced evacuation of civilian populations from their homes "must be reversed".

"Be warned—millions of Moslems all over the world will never forgive Europe if we are seen to allow the Moslems in Bosnia-Hercegovina to be deprived of their civil rights, shunted out of the towns and villages in which they live," Owen said.

On the day that United Nations relief flights to Sarajevo resumed after a month's suspension, Owen told the Council—which groups 27 European countries—that the approach of winter would seriously hamper humanitarian aid operations.

"Snow will make humanitarian supplies by road difficult. Fog and bad weather will force us to close Sarajevo airport several hours each day.

"Some people estimate that winter alone, even in the best of circumstances... will lead to 100,000 people dying in Bosnia-Hercegovina," he said.

As he spoke, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata reaffirmed in Geneva a previous warning that as many as 400,000 people could die in Bosnia-Hercegovina during the harsh Balkan winter, and that the republic was on the verge of a disaster.

Official U.S. sources have estimated that according to the harshness of the Bosnian winter, between 30,000 and

217,000 people could die through a combination of killings, starvation, and exposure to freezing temperatures.

Owen warned that the supply of humanitarian aid was already two weeks behind schedule: "Times urge. The chariot behind us is winter".

On the practice of "ethnic cleansing", Owen said: "However much we wish to moralise and agonise over these outrageous abuses of human rights, the prime task must be to save human lives and seek peace." Reversing the process would not be easy, he added.

Owen referred to a U.S. report which claimed that between 3,000 and 4,000 "young children and old people, carrying what remained of their belongings in suitcases" and attempting to cross into Croatia last week, were massacred.

It would be impossible to stop such practices without military intervention, Owen later told a press conference.

The Geneva co-chairman, who has opposed such intervention, said it should be made clear to all those on former Yugoslav territory that those committing crimes against humanity could find themselves before an international tribunal.

Western diplomats in New York said on Saturday that a draft resolution to the Security Council sponsored by the United States, France, Belgium and Britain proposed the appointment of a commission of independent experts to investigate reports of war crimes in the area.

Warring Factions Agree To Release Prisoners

AU0310191592 Paris AFP in English 1802 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Geneva, Oct 3 (AFP)—The warring factions in Bosnia-Hercegovina have agreed to release "unilaterally and unconditionally" by the end of the month all prisoners not charged with serious human rights violations, Red Cross sources said Saturday [3 October]. However the Red Cross president denounced rights violations in the republic in which "the most basic principles" of humanitarian law were being ignored, and called for a substantial increase in the numbers of international observers in the field.

The prisoner release agreement was reached during negotiations between the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Serbian, Croatian and Moslem representatives in Geneva on Wednesday and Thursday, ICRC sources said. Fifty-two detention camps were declared by the three sides during the talks: 24 of them Serbian, 19 Moslem and 9 Croatian. The ICRC, which has had access to only 26 camps holding 13,000 people, demanded details on 21 of the camps mentioned.

ICRC President Cornelio Sommaruga told reporters however that in the view of the ICRC, the results of all its efforts to end atrocities in the conflict were "insignificant compared with the magnitude of the tragedy."

"The most basic principles of international humanitarian law continue to be ignored in the field," he said.

Under cover of a policy of "ethnic cleansing", he added, tens of thousands of members of minority groups were at the mercy of "repressive measures" applied in accordance with a "discriminatory ideology". These practices were "inadmissible".

Sommaruga called on all sides in the conflict to release all prisoners unconditionally, "as stipulated in the London agreements" (of August 26-28).

According to the latest agreements, all parties must hand over lists of prisoners detained in all camps by October 15.

The freed prisoners will be able to seek temporary asylum in neighbouring countries, and those retained must be allowed the protections granted to prisoners of war under the third and fourth Geneva conventions.

Sommaruga, who presented his report alongside U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata, spoke of the "incalculable" consequences of the continuing human rights violations in ex-Yugoslavia.

"The ICRC once again calls on the international community in the hope that far-reaching solutions will rapidly be found to save lives in Bosnia-Hercegovina."

The ICRC chief called for unrestricted access to civilians caught up in the fighting, as well as more opportunities to safely transport "those wishing to be reunited with their families, and allow them to reach safe areas."

Ethnic Cleansing Continues on 'Drastic Scale'

AU0210215692 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 2 Sep 92

[Text] According to the information available to the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic, regardless of the measures taken by the international community and the condemnation by the whole world, ethnic cleansing in the area of Bosnian Krajina is continuing on a drastic scale. Muslim and Croatian refugees from this part arrive daily in Travnik.

Yesterday, 2,500 refugees from Kljuc, Sanski Most, and Banja Luka arrived in Travnik. According to their testimonies, another 5-10,000 new refugees, mostly women and children, are expected soon. Men are either taken away to concentration camps or killed. The refugees were robbed of all their property and personal belongings. Travnik is in a hopeless situation, as there are already some 20,000 people who have been displaced as part of ethnic cleansing of Bosnian Krajina.

The aggressor is continuing ethnic cleansing in the areas of Miljevina, Foca, Gorazde, Kalinovik and Rogatica by exchanging the people imprisoned in the concentration camps. Some 10 Muslims are being held in the camp of the powder plant in Kalinovik, and in the brothel in

Miljevina, some 10 girls are being held. The local cheteniks, led by Vera Skakavac and warlord Pero Elez, are particularly diligent in forcefully taking away girls and women.

In the former prison for underaged delinquents in Foca, 131 Muslims are held. According to the statements made by nine of them who have been exchanged, many are dying from beatings and abuse. Out of the 600 people held in that camp two or three months ago, many have either been shot or taken away to the mines of Miljevina, Gacko, Montenegro, Serbia, and in an unknown direction.

This area urgently needs help with food and fuel, since so far some 500 people have been exchanged, and 40,000 refugees have been taken care of, with many more expected to come from eastern Bosnia.

Letter to UN Protests Ethnic Cleansing

LD0210120192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Ejup Ganic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, and Jure Pelivan, prime minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, forwarded a letter yesterday to the UN Security Council and the cochairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen.

The letter vigorously protested the campaign of ethnic cleansing in the Sarajevo district of Grbavica. Yesterday, 500 Muslims were expelled from Grbavica under the threat of death. The letter calls on the UN Security Council and the conference to use all available means to stop the horrible process of ethnic cleansing.

Government Calls For Aid; 1.5 Million 'Starving'

LD0310224592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina Government has sent a letter to the UN Office of the High Commissoner for Refugees and the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance, demanding that humanitarian aid be delivered as soon as possible to the starved population. About 1.5 million people are starving in a state of desperation since humanitarian convoys cannot reach Sarajevo, Srebrenica, Jajce, Zepa, Gorazde, and other besieged towns.

The letter also demands that at long last the UN resolution should be implemented consequently, the decision of other international organizations and the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina and the former Yugoslavia.

UN Flights Arrive Despite 'Heavy' Gunfire

AU0410145292 Paris AFP in English 1312 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Oct 4 (AFP)—Two American and two Canadian planes carrying relief supplies flew into the Bosnian capital on Sunday [4 October] despite heavy exchanges of gunfire by Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Moslem forces near the airport.

U.N. air traffic controllers here told AFP that two French military flights and another U.S. air force flight also scheduled Sunday were cancelled because of bad weather at Sarajevo airport.

In Geneva, a spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the airlift organizer, said that relief operations were suspended for the day after the first four flights because poor visibility made landing hazardous.

The international airlift of relief supplies to Sarajevo resumed on Saturday after a one-month hiatus.

A U.S. Air Force C-130 Hercules flew in on Saturday carrying a cargo of U.S. military rations for the estimated more than 350,000 residents of Sarajevo, which has been under siege by Bosnian Serb forces for more than six months.

It was the first plane to fly into the Bosnian capital since the UNHCR and participating western governments suspended flights on September 3 after an Italian aircraft was shot down near Sarajevo, killing all four crew members.

The first plane to land Sunday morning was a Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) C-130 Hercules.

It was followed by two U.S. Air Force C-130s and another Canadian C-130, which landed around 11:30 A.M. (1030 GMT), shortly before heavy rain and low-lying clouds forced the suspension of further flights for the day.

Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Moslem forces clashed nearby with heavy weapons throughout the morning but did appear to directly endanger the takeoffs and landings of the U.S. and Canadian relief planes.

Sylvie Girard, a UNHCR spokeswoman in Geneva, said that 10 flights—four American, four French and two Canadian—were scheduled for Monday, depending on the weather.

The airport's equipment used to help planes land when visibility is poor has been heavily damaged during six months of fighting.

One of the U.S. planes which arrived on Sunday carried radar instruments designed to help pilots land in bad weather. They are to be installed by the members of the U.N. peacekeeping force who control the airport.

The UNHCR has warned that the situation in Sarajevo and other parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina is critical and that up to 400,000 people could die of starvation and exposure in the former Yugoslav republic this winter.

Tudjman Denies Territorial Exchange Deal

LD0310171192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] [First announcer] A statement issued by the Croatian president's office denies an article by the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA correspondent in Brussels entitled "Tudjman and Cosic Open Geneva," published on Wednesday, 30 September, which says inter alia:

[Second announcer] Tudjman and Karadzic held a secret meeting at the peace conference in London at the end of August. They discussed the possibility of Krajina, as the historic and cultural Kosovo of Croatia, being returned to Croatia, while Serbia [as heard] would in exchange obtain parts of eastern Slavonia. The president's office now denies the truthfulness of that news, and stresses: President Tudjman has never negotiated on any change of borders of the Croatian Republic, nor has he allowed such a possibility in any talks. On the contrary, President Tudjman and other authorized Croatian representatives have always stressed that the republic's borders are inviolable, that there is no negotiating about the Croatian territory, and that not an inch of the Croatian land will be given to anybody.

It is not possible to understand that SLOBODNA DALMACIJA can publish such false information with no holds barred, the more so because its correspondent did not cite any, let alone an official source. This act not only causes harm to their own country and attempts to discredit the highest authorities, but also violates the journalistic code and breaks regulations of the Law on Information, the statement issued by the president's office in connection with the article in SLOBODNA DALMACIJA says in conclusion.

UN Force Reports Helicopters Fired Upon

LD0310212092 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2008 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Belgrade, October 3 (TANJUG)—For the second time in four days, unarmed and clearly marked helicopters of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) have been fired at near Zagreb, capital of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, the UNPROFOR Command in Zagreb said on Saturday [3 October].

On October 2 at 18:00 hours local time, two UNPROFOR helicopters were fired at when they were 10 kilometers south of Zagreb, an UNPROFOR press release sent to TANJUG said.

The helicopters were on route from Topusko, were flying at 1,500 meters, and Croatian authorities were on time informed about their flights.

The helicopters had just received permission from Zagreb radar to descend when one helicopter observed red hall tracers, fired by an automatic weapon, almost vertically and alongside its flight path, the UNPROFOR press release said.

The pilot immediately made a distress call to Zagreb radar and requested the operator to mark the helicopter's position and identify the exact location, the press release said.

The second helicopter, flying at a distance from the first, did not see the actual firing, but immediately requested permission to change course in order to leave the area. Both helicopters landed safely at Zagreb Airport without damage or casualties, the UNPROFOR press release said.

The press release said the helicopters were on a medical evacuation mission.

UNPROFOR Director of Civil Affairs Cedric [name indistinct] a [words indistinct] letter to the Croatian [words indistinct] and asked to be informed what steps the Croatian Government was taking to preclude any further such occurrences, the UNPROFOR press release said. [Passage indistinct]

Osijek Authorities Dissatisfied With UN Force

LD0310084892 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Representatives of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for the eastern sector have had yet another serious verbal conflict with Osijek authorities. The conclusion: The peace forces are expected to set a date for the return of refugees to Antunovac and Bilje by 6 October.

[Unidentified correspondent] We have had enough of your stories in the manner of: We'll see; have some more patience; we will soon take resolute steps. We demand that you immediately start doing the job which has brought you here. Colonel Aleksandar Khomchemkov, the UNPROFOR commander for the eastern sector, Mr. Robert Adamson, from the High Commission for Refugees, Mrs. Blondina Nega, the coordinator for civilian affairs, and their aides were addressed by these words by representatives of the community of banished people and by civil authorities of the municipalities of Osijek and Beli Manastir in Osijek today.

This was actually an answer to Mrs. Nega, who right at the beginning tried to direct the discussion toward completely marginal questions—as always at similar meetings. Mr. Adamson also said a few empty phrases. [passage omitted]

We demand of you to set the date for the return to Bilje and Antunovac by Tuesday afternoon, in accordance with General Satish Nambiar. We do not want any more meetings like this one, of which we have had 15 or more, and which always give us a headache because of your lack of understanding of the situation, Branimir Glavas, the president of the Executive Council of the Osijek municipality said in conclusion.

Drnovsek Supports Panic, Discusses Refugee Camps

AU0510103892 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 5 Oct 92 p 2

[Interview with Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek by Samo Kobenter in Ljubljana; date not given: "Panic Has Certainly Gained in Importance"]

[Text] [Kobenter] In Slovenia, 70,000 Bosnian refugees are waiting for winter in unsuitable accommodation. How does your Government plan to cope with that?

[Drnovsek] We are doing everything we can to make the camps suitable for winter. However, this year alone we would need another 3 billion tolar (about 370 million schillings). We hardly get any financial support from other countries and we cannot accept any more refugees. Therefore, we are trying to find political solutions, such as the establishment of a security zone in Bosnia, where the refugees can be taken in under UN supervision.

[Kobenter] President Milan Kucan speaks of an imminent Palestinian problem in Europe, if the refugees are not returned.

[Drnovsek] This probably refers to the future. At the moment, I do not see any potential here for something like a Bosnian terrorist group, since mainly women, children, and old people are here as refugees. But we expect a political solution to the problem.

[Kobenter] What is it supposed to be like?

[Drnovsek] It must start from Bosnia. Disagreement is very great there. We support Bosnia's official policy, which is based on an autonomy as comprehensive as possible for all ethnic groups and includes various models for establishing cantons. However, we strictly oppose a division of the country, because this would not solve anything but would just drive away even more people.

[Kobenter] This presupposes a stable cease-fire, perhaps even a military intervention from the outside....

[Drnovsek] We are not against an international military intervention. However, six months ago it would have been more efficient and would have prevented much bloodshed. Slovenia would certainly support a concerted action if the international community of states managed to agree on that. At the moment, it would be absolutely necessary to tighten the sanctions against Serbia, that is, impose a ban on military flights and tighten the economic embargo. At the same time, relief corridors must be opened to Bosnia and put under the protection of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. The UN troops must become more active in general.

[Kobenter] This will hardly be possible without including the Serbian side. How do you assess the relationship between Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic and Milan Panic?

[Drnovsek] Since Panic assumed office he has certainly gained in importance. At the beginning, he was rather ridiculous. But he manages to stay in office and says the right things, which increases the tension between him and Milosevic. This is no game any more, but a serious conflict with an uncertain end. Milosevic is still anchored very strongly in his positions. If one sees how difficult it is for the West to discuss a military action, only support for Panic remains as hope for the internal disintegration of Serbia. However, we are rather reserved because it is difficult to judge what is really going on in the background. During my time in Belgrade I, too, at first believed what I saw there—like Vance and Owen. But there is another level of Serbian policy, which one does not see immediately.

[Kobenter] The accusation that as prime minister you signed a law that is now being used for the establishment of detention camps refers to this time in Belgrade.

[Drnovsek] A small, extremist party is using this accusation in the Slovene election campaign. It is a fact that at that time I enforced considerable improvements despite threats of attacks on me. The passage about detention was solely intended for emergency situations and replaced a regulation that was far worse.

In addition, while my critics sat in their warm rooms, I faced the threat of assassination. Between 1989 and 1991 the generals planned a coup three times, for which they asked for my approval—for instance on 25 January 1990. As early as in September 1989 the Army threatened to march into Slovenia if the additions to the Constitution, which I supported and which started Slovenia's democratization, were not abolished. Finally, in March 1990 there was a meeting for which the members of the Presidency were led into the bunker of the Belgrade General Staff where pressure was exerted on them for three days to agree to the disarming of the Slovene and Croatian territorial militias. Thus, the accusations are absurd.

International

Hadzic Says Political Solutions 'Acceptable'

LD0310040792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2019 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Belgrade, October 2 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Serbian Krajina Goran Hadzic said on Friday [2 October] in Belgrade that every political solution which prevents war from continuing and leads to peace is acceptable to the Krajina people, and this, Hadzic assessed, is the recognition of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

The Republic of Serbian Krajina is a reality and those who do not accept this reality are against peace, Hadzic said at a press conference in Belgrade.

Our goal is that the Serbs, like all other peoples, should achieve the right to self-determination, Hadzic said, recalling that the Republic of Serbian Krajina came into being as the consequence of events which took place in the former Yugoslavia in 1991.

The Republic of Serbian Krajina was proclaimed last year within the administrative territory of Croatia in reaction to Croatia's secession. These Serbian territories are under the protection of the U.N. Protection Force in Yugoslavia, UNPROFOR.

Stands of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina are stands of peace, Assembly President Mile Paspalj said, stressing that this is confirmed by the agreement to UNPROFOR's deployment and a full cooperation with UNPROFOR members. Paspalj also expressed the hope that the international community will show understanding for the wish of the Serbian people to decide for itself with whom and where it will live.

In order to prevent the switching of thesis over who had begun and who was responsible for the war, I want to point out that the war was waged on the territory where the Serbs are the majority population and that it was begun by the new Croat authorities which call themselves democratic, Hadzic said.

Armed conflicts between local Serbs and Croats were waged in Croatia last year because of the Croatian authorities one-sided decision to secede from the former Yugoslavia, thereby reducing the Serbs to a national minority.

Hadzic recalled that Croat President Franjo Tudjman did not agree to a lesser degree of cultural autonomy for the Serbs.

Delegation Report Denies Expulsion From UN

LD0210211392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1549 GMT 2 Oct 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 2 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia has not been expelled from the United Nations (U.N.) nor has its seat been cancelled, says a report by the Yugoslav delegation which took part in the 47th U.N. General Assembly session which adopted the resolution withdrawing the right of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to take part in the work of the General Assembly.

The report quotes a legal opinion sent to the General Assembly that "the resolution neither ends or suspends Yugoslavia's U.N. membership, nor does it abolish Yugoslavia's right to take part in the work of other U.N. bodies."

The report, which the Federal Government sent to the Yugoslav parliament on Friday [2 October], says that the Yugoslav delegation achieved the maximum results in "an atmosphere created by the persistent insistence of the Islamic countries on the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the U.N."

According to the Yugoslav delegation, "created is a good basis for the debate on Yugoslavia, scheduled for 90 days, to be conducted in a peaceful and constructive way without any additional or special conditions."

The report adds that the Yugoslav delegation was firm in its stand that Yugoslavia will not be willing to meet "any special conditions" when its U.N. membership comes under review."

After the resolution was adopted, many delegations "expressed their apologies to Yugoslavia because they see it as a victim of a certain policy," the report says.

Federal

Vote on Early Election Laws Postponed

LD0210191192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—The adoption of the Law on the Election of Federal Assembly Deputies to the Citizens' Chamber, and the Law on Electoral Units, which are necessary for holding early federal elections, was postponed in the Yugoslav Assembly today. As was decided at the sessions of both chambers, deputies will vote on the laws on 6 October when the Chamber of the Republics and the Citizens' Chamber continue their work. The postponement of the discussion was caused by the more than 50 amendments to the electoral law which must be discussed by the Federal Government.

On the basis of today's discussion in both chambers, the Federal Government should prepare a draft law on electoral units for 6 October. Today's discussion about the draft which offered two solutions—either four or six electoral units on the territory of Serbia—revealed that opinions differed considerably.

Next week, the chambers should discuss at a joint session the international position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, its status in international organizations, its borders, and the security situation in the country. An agreement in principle on this was reached after a brief

discussion in the Citizens' Chamber about the proposal of the deputies' club of the Serbian Radical Party [Srpska radikalna stranka] to include in the agenda of today's session the discussion about Yugoslavia's border in Prevlaka and about Prime Minister Milan Panic's formal request for Yugoslavia's admission into the United Nations. State President Dobrica Cosic and Prime Minister Milan Panic should be present at the session, as well as Zivota Panic, chief of the Yugoslav Army General Staff. [passage omitted]

Panic: Elections Precondition to Recognition

LD0510023492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2205 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG)—In an interview with the Politika television this evening, Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic said that democratic elections in Serbia were one of the most important preconditions for the country's recognition and the lifting of the sanctions.

Panic appealed to the population of Serbia to come out in a referendum and to vote in favor of fresh elections. "We must have elections, we must show the world that they are democratic. After the elections, we then will seek international recognition," Panic added.

He said that at the moment he has no plans to put his name down for any of the election lists. "I am not a politician, but of course, I am pleased to hear that as a man I am popular because I want peace, stability, and economic prosperity."

Panic firmly believes that no one wishes to intervene militarily in the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. "I hope that there will be no bombardment. I do not think that the American people wish to become involved in this war; no one wants that," he said.

In the course of this rather tense interview, which was full of misunderstandings between the premier and the interviewer, Politika correspondent Petar Popovic, Panic ruled out any possibility of the international community conditioning its recognition of Yugoslavia with special demands, such as a special status for the Albanians of Kosovo or for Muslims in Sandzak.

"This implies ensuring that the Albanians rejoin the country's political life through democratic processes. On the other hand, if we start hanging people on electricity poles, the world naturally will demand special conditions," Panic said.

"If we guarantee Albanians their civil rights and their return to the country's political life, the possibility is ruled out of Serbia and Yugoslavia being fragmented under international pressures," Panic stressed.

The federal premier explained that in London the issue of Kosovo as an independent state definitely had been taken off the agenda, stressing that this idea received no support. Asked if, despite all this, a rebellion does occur in Kosovo whether he would call on the Army to intervene, Panic answered in the affirmative. "I do not believe that Montenegrins will leave Yugoslavia," Panic said, stressing that there would be no prosperity without strong economic ties, not just between Serbia and Montenegro, but with other republics of former Yugoslavia.

In reference to the position of Serbs in former Yugoslav republics, Panic said that Yugoslavia was responsible for their fate. He went on to add that the present borders were recognized by the Assembly of former Yugoslavia on 24 April 1992.

"I do not think that Milosevic is a criminal," Panic replied when asked about calls by international organizations for individuals in former Yugoslavia to be tried for war crimes.

The premier explained that people can say and think what they want, but that any crimes would have to be proven first. These are speculations, he said. "One should be called to account only if it is established that he is responsible for crimes."

The federal premier said that he was convinced that Prevlaka, in the end, will become part of Montenegro and Yugoslavia. "If we do not wage war over Prevlaka we will win," he said.

In conclusion, Premier Panic called on all Yugoslavs to work together on restoring peace.

Panic Meets With Depos Opposition Coalition

LD0210211792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—Milan Panic, prime minister of the Yugoslav Government, today held a lengthy meeting in the Federation Palace with representatives of the Democratic Movement of Serbia [Depos], who informed him about Depos' preparations for the upcoming elections. The talks were attended by Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serb Renewal Movement [SPO], Slobodan Rakitic, president of SPO's deputies' club, Radoslav Stojanovic, member of Depos' Executive Committee from the Democratic Party of Serbia, and Academician Aleksandar Gasic, member of Depos' Executive Committee.

Prime Minister Panic stressed the need for the elections to be democratic in order to improve Yugoslavia's international reputation. During the talks, it was concluded that this cannot be done without the freedom of the press, including television as the most powerful part of the media.

Depos' representatives stressed that they will do everything within their power to create a positive image of our country in the world. In this connection, they stressed the need for to prepare for the state and republican elections to be conducted in an atmosphere of tolerance, and one in which all the parties will be allowed to publicly present their programs on equal terms.

Democratic Party Expresses Support for Cosic

LD0210154792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 2 October (TANJUG)—The Democratic Party gives its full support for the international activity of the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and believes that the Cosic-Tudjman talks are one of the ways to ease the tensions, the president of the Democratic Party Executive Committee, Zoran Djindjic stated today. At a press conference, Djindjic stated that the demilitarization of Prevlaka does not mean that it will be given to Croatia. [passage omitted]

The attacks of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the Serb Radical Party against the federal leadership and accusations of its betrayal and capitulation were described by Djindjic as "political hypocrisy."

"In fact," Djindjic said, "this is the realization of the Vance plan signed by the Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic so that, in accordance with this, the Federal Government and the FRY president are only carrying out obligations taken on earlier." [passage omitted]

General Staff Statement on Recruits Transfer

LD0210131592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1618 GMT 30 Sep 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 30 Sep (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army General Staff Information Service stated today that a transfer of a certain number of soldiers-recruits to other training centers has been carried out to ensure "equal manning in all units and the creation of conditions for qualitative instruction." The statement says that the call up of recruits for military service will be completed in the next few days.

It goes on to say that the response of recruits is very good, and that they have been allocated to garrisons on the basis of the guidelines for recruitment and filling the ranks of the Yugoslav Army in peace time. [passage omitted]

To ensure that all units are equally manned and that conditions are created for qualitative military training, it was necessary to carry out the transfer of a certain number of soldiers to other instruction centers. This has been carried out in accordance with the guidelines for recruitment and filling the ranks of the Yugoslav Army, which stipulate that military service should be carried out anywhere on the FRY territory.

Panic 'Against' Nationalizing POLITIKA

LD0410104492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Oct (TANJUG)—Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic today gave his full support for the POLITIKA newspaper and publishing house to be transformed into a shareholders company. He stressed that he is against the nationalization of our biggest and oldest newspaper and publishing house, the prime minister's office announced after Panic had received Dr. Zivorad Minovic, the director of the POLITIKA newspaper and publishing house.

During their talks in the Federation Palace, Minovic informed the federal prime minister about problems facing POLITIKA's development, especially the process of the ownership transformation and the position of the media and the newspaper-media industry. Giving full support to the transformation of POLITIKA's ownership, Panic underlined the link between the freedom of press and democracy. Their talks also dealt with the further development of POLITIKA radio-television.

Minovic thanked Federal Prime minister Panic for the support he gave to the development and the independent position of POLITIKA.

Serbia

SPS Calls For 'Immediate' End to War

LD0410215992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2052 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Novi Sad, Oct 3 (TANJUG)—The Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), the ruling party in this Yugoslav Republic, said it would continue calling for an immediate end to war and bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia, SPS said at its conference in the Serbian Province Vojvodina on Saturday [3 October].

A SPS leader in Vojvodina Jovan Babovic said that most of the citizens were for the end to war, but also for the resolute defence of freedom and dignity, national interests and the integrity of their own state.

Babovic urged that the world be warned of the realistic dangers of the war expanding if the international institutions involved in the resolution of the crisis continue ignoring the essential conditions and the actual developments on the fronts and reaching biased conclusions.

General Secretary of the SPS main board Petar Skundric said that Serbia and Montenegro did not have influence on the conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina but that unjust sanctions were nevertheless introduced against them.

"We are prepared for cooperation and concessions, but the sanctions are stricter the more we give in. This is why we should re-examine our attitude towards those international factors and internal forces which accept outside ultimatums", Skundric said.

Skundric called on SPS members and sympathizers to take part in the upcoming referendum, scheduled for October 11, and to vote for the amendment to the Republican Constitution, which will enable early elections.

Skundric said the socialists agreed to early elections not because the previous ones were irregular, as the opposition often says, but because they are convinced they will win the voters' confidence at the next ones and be able to initiate greater changes.

SPS conference presidency proposed that the second SPS congress (to be held in mid-October) nominates Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic for the post of party president.

Students Stage Protest Against New Assembly Law

LD0410215592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2022 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 3 (TANJUG)—By taking part in a symbolic rally called "Funeral of the Free University", over 1,000 college students, professors and Belgraders on Saturday [3 October] protested against the Serbian law on the university which they say "buried its freedom".

The Serbian parliament passed the controversial law this summer.

The rally was staged by "The Student Protest '92", which had over June and July staged several-week demonstrations, demanding the resignation of the Serbian authorities and their leader Slobodan Milosevic.

The participants in the "Funeral of the Free University" first gathered in front of the College of Philosophy and held ironical "commemorative speeches" over the coffin of the "deceased", whose death they blamed on the Serbian Government, particularly Education Minister Danilo Markovic.

"The funeral procession" then headed for the Serbian Assembly where it left the coffin, with a message to Minister Markovic "to find time to complete the job, so that the corpse does not decay".

The "Funeral of the Free University" passed without an incident.

Members of the "Student Protest '92" board said at a news conference on Saturday that all colleges, scientific institutes and college dorms in Belgrade and Krusevac would take part in the action of gathering 15,000 signatures to have the Serbian Parliament reconsider the law. The action is to begin on Monday and last until October 15.

The Pristina, Nis and Novi Sad University Councils did not join in the action so that the students in those cities will gather signatures by themselves.

The law on university is currently discussed by the Constitutional Court of Serbia after the rectors of the Belgrade and Kragujevac Universities demanded an evaluation of its constitionality.

Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic supported the demands of the college students and professors. In his letters to Serbian leaders—President Slobodan Milosevic, Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic and Parliament President Aleksandar Bakocevic—Cosic proposed that the Serbian Parliament reconsider the disputed law.

Petroleum Prices Increase by Over 90 Percent

LD0410171892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0914 GMT 4 Oct 92

[Text] Belgrade, Oct 4 (TANJUG)—The price of motor fuel and other petroleum derivatives went up by over 90 percent in Serbia on Sunday [4 October]. The Republican Ministry of Mining and Energy has raised the price of 98-octane petrol to 580 dinars per litre, and that of 86-octane petrol to 515 dinars.

One U.S. dollar is worth 200 dinars at the official rate of exchange, and exactly double on the black market.

Lead-free petrol will now sell for 570 dinars per litre, D-2 diesel fuel for 430 dinars, light heating oil for 196 dinars and heavy oil (mazout) for 73 dinars per kilogramme. Farmers, urban and regional transport firms, minicipal utilities and riverine shipping operators will be able to obtain fuel at considerably lower prices.

Motor fuel has since the U.N. imposed an oil embargo against Yugoslavia been obtainable only for coupons, the monthy quota per car being 20 litres in September and just 15 litres in October.

Kosovo

Rugova Says Greece Afraid of 'Complication'

AU0210181292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Oct 92

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic]

[Text] Speaking at a news conference today, Ibrahim Rugova, leader of the Kosovo Albanians, said that the concern of Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis about the possible complication of the situation in Kosovo can be interpreted as his fear of a breakout of clashes. However, Rugova considers the Greek prime minister's insistence that U.S. President George Bush intervene with a view to ensuring autonomy to Kosovo to be pressure on the Albanian leaders to give up the idea of Kosovo as an independent Albanian state. Rugova said today that the Greek prime minister has already insisted several times that Albanians should give up the independence of Kosovo.

For the umteenth time, the president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo accused the Serbian side of trying to incite clashes in Kosovo. Rugova claimed that there was no terrorist attack against the police in Glogovac, but rather, as he put it, the policemen shot at one another. He also claimed that Albanians are not mixed up in the wounding of a lieutenant colonel of the Yugoslav Army in Podujevo two days ago because, as he put it, his sources in the field claim that no shot was heard.

Rugova Considers 'Neutral Kosovo' Best Solution

AU0410170192 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] In the regular press conference, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK], dedicated most of his comments to the increase in Serbian violence against the Albanian people in Kosovo. He said that besides daily repression in Kosovo, the Serbian police carried out various provocations last week. He mentioned the case in which Serbian policemen clashed among themselves in Glogovce, and afterwards tortured Albanian citizens. This incident and the provocations of the Serbian police and civilians against Albanians in Kline, Lipjane, Decan, Peje, etc., presage confrontations in Kosovo.

Meanwhile, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova considered the dispatch of 1,000 soldiers to Slatine airport and their deployment in Gjakove and Peje as a very dangerous action testifying to the fact that Serbia refused a political solution to the Kosovo question.

Rugova later condemned the trial held at Peje against a group of Albanians and the arrests of Anton Kolaj, the LDK deputy chairman, and Edita Tahiri, member of the LDK Presidency, while returning home from Italy.

Dr. Rugova then stressed that the best solution is a neutral Kosovo. With our policy, we will further commit ourselves to achieve this solution through political means, the LDK chairman pointed out.

Serb Police Release Democratic Alliance Leaders

AU0410165592 Zofingen RILINDJA in Albanian 30 Sep 92 p 12

["Anton Kola and Edita Tahiri Released"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Serbian police released Anton Kola, Edita Tahiri, Hazir Krasniqi, Qefser Baholli, and Ymer Rama, who had been arrested the day before yesterday and questioned for many hours.

The police held them at the Ferizaj Police Station till morning, forcing them to stay in the hall and provoking them all the time. Finally, the police released them at approximately 1530 and compelled them to write a statement on the nature of the discussions held at the Peace Forum meeting in Verona, Italy. The Serbian police and security agents seized a sizeable quantity of material pertaining to the Verona meeting, as well as other material. The police apprehended Edita Tahiri's passport. The Kosovo Democratic Alliance Information Center reports that the Serbian police ordered Anton Kola and Edita Tahiri to present themselves at the Ferizaj Police Station tomorrow.

Montenegro

UN Refugee Official Pledges More Aid

LD0410180992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2157 GMT 2 Oct 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Podgorica, October 2 (TANJUG)—Special envoy of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Jose Maria Mendiluce said on Friday [2 October] in Podgorica that the high commissioner would shortly open an office in Montenegro. The opening of the office should step up the arrival of aid to refugees in this Yugoslav republic.

In talks with representatives of the republican organizations for refugees Mendiluce thanked Montenegro's citizens, state bodies and humanitarian institutions for caring for displaced persons among whom over 50,000 are from the war-torn areas of the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The special envoy of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees stressed the need for international organisations sending more aid and concluded that humanitarian aid must begin to arrive immediately because of the approaching winter.

Macedonia

Maleski Discusses Oil Embargo With Vance, Owen

LD0310124392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0911 GMT 3 Oct 92

[Text] Geneva, 3 Oct (TANJUG)—Denko Maleski, minister of foreign affairs of Macedonia, held talks yesterday with Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, the two cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia, in the Palace of Nations in Geneva. Maleski told journalists after the talks that the aim of his visit was to present to the two cochairmen the difficulties Macedonia has been facing following the decision by Greece to introduce an embargo on oil exports to Macedonia.

According to Maleski, he explained to Vance and Owen what his country is facing with the "implemention of the embargo in the north" against Serbia and Montenegro, and the interruption of the oil supplies by "the EC member state in the south." As a result of all this, he told the two cochairmen, his country's economy is sliding into collapse and if this continues Macedonia will face social unrest and ethnic clashes. Maleski assessed that a potential danger of war exists in this region which could spread to the neighboring Balkan countries.

The Macedonian minister warned Athens that the people of Macedonia are not prepared to change the name of their state, since, he said, this "affirms the dignity of the nation."

Maleski did not disclose what Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen had said during the talks in response to his remark that Greece had introduced the embargo on oil deliveries to Macedonia.